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Selected Speeches and Writings

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M. A. SUSLOV



PERGAMON PRESS

OXFORD · NEW YORK · TORONTO · SYDNEY · PARIS · FRANKFURT

U.K.	Pergamon Press Ltd., Headington Hill Hall, Oxford OX3 0BW, England
U.S.A.	Pergamon Press Inc., Maxwell House, Fairview Park, Elmsford, New York 10523, U.S.A.
CANADA	Pergamon of Canada, Suite 104, 150 Consumers Road, Willowdale, Ontario, M2J 1P9, Canada
AUSTRALIA	Pergamon Press (Aust.) Pty. Ltd., P.O. Box 544, Potts Point, N.S.W. 2011, Australia
FRANCE	Pergamon Press SARL, 24 rue des Ecoles, 75240 Paris Cedex 05, France
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY	Pergamon Press GmbH, 6242 Kronberg-Taunus, Pferdstasse 1, Federal Republic of Germany

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First edition 1980

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Suslov, M A

Selected speeches and writings.

1. Russia — History — 1917 —

2. Labor and laboring classes

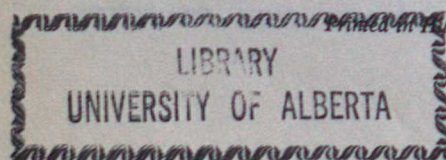
947.084'08 DK266 79-41075

ISBN 0-08-023602-2

Printed in Hungary by Franklin Printing House

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

First, I express my gratitude to Pergamon Press, who have undertaken to publish a separate English edition of my articles, reports, speeches and other utterances of the years 1965–77.

In that period fell some splendid jubilees which were widely celebrated in the Soviet Union and by the progressive world public: the centenary of Lenin's birth (1970), the 50th and then the 60th anniversary (1967/77) of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, which radically changed the destiny of our country and the life of the people, and had enormous international significance.

In the Soviet Union such red-letter days are marked as great national holidays. On those days the Soviet people not only commemorate with profound respect the great historic events of the past. They review their achievements in economic and cultural development, in raising their living standards and in the struggle for peace, and analyse the shortcomings still existing. In brief, when celebrating an anniversary the Soviet people look back on the path they have come and outline the tasks for the future. This has naturally been reflected in the materials collected in the present publication. In them I have sought to show the process of the gigantic work performed by the Soviet people in transforming the backward Russia of the past into a flourishing land and in building a developed socialist society. On this path our people have experienced the joy of great accomplishments and the bitterness of severe losses. I have followed this path together with the multimillion Soviet people and the Communist Party. Wherever I happened to work—in a poor village in the heart of Russia, in scientific and educational institutions, as a Party executive in the Don area and the Northern Caucasus, in Lithuania, and in the Central Committee of the CPSU—I was invariably with the Party and the people. Therefore, the materials published here

are an account by an eyewitness and participant in the events which make up the history of my country.

I belong to the generation of Soviet people whose world outlook and life principles were formed under the direct impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The son of a poor peasant, I gained my first life experience when the Revolution had just thrown off the yoke of centuries of oppression, and the working people had become masters of their own destinies.

It was in those years, difficult but illumined by the light of great transformations, that I, still a young man, made the main choice of my life and became a Communist. Like millions of my compatriots I realised that only the Communist Party could lead the people along the path of social liberation, of building the most equitable society on earth—a society without exploitation of man by man, without oppression and social inequality, without poverty and unemployment. Knowing the life of the people quite well, I understood that the policy of the Leninist Party consistently and fully expresses the interests of the working people.

The Revolution and the socialist transformations in the country roused the broadest masses of the working people to conscious creativity and gave them wide access to education and culture. The people needed cadres of specialists: like hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants, I therefore began to study, first at a secondary school and then at a higher educational institution. After graduating I took up research and teaching. In the pre-war years the Party assigned me to Party political work, which became the purpose of my entire life. The most important periods of my work have been in chronological order as follows. From secretary of the Rostov Regional Party Committee and then first secretary of the Stavropol Territory Party Committee, I became during the war a member of the Military Council and leader of the partisan movement in the Northern Caucasus. I have been Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee for over thirty years and concurrently a member of the Politburo for many years.

In the materials offered to the reader I try to show the most important aspects of the life of Soviet society as I have seen and understood them. If this book helps the reader to get an insight into the life of the Soviet

people, their heroism and self-sacrifice in the struggle for their great ideals, I shall consider the book's purpose fulfilled.

Now a few words about the contents of the book. Its articles and speeches for the most part describe and substantiate theoretically the home and foreign policies of the Soviet state, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In their home policy the Soviet state and the Communist Party attach top priority to the continued consolidation and advancement of the developed socialist society built in the Soviet Union, whose main aspects are revealed in the book, to the evolution of socialism into communism. This work of the Party, the state, and the people is carried out in three main directions:

First, the building up of the material and technical basis of communism, i.e. the continued comprehensive development of the national economy on the basis of the latest scientific and technological achievements, the steady growth of socialist production, the supreme goal of which is the constant improvement of the people's well-being. In the efforts to accomplish this enormous task crucial importance is attached to enhancing the efficiency of all social production and improving the standards of work in all sectors of Soviet society.

Second, the consolidation of the unity of Soviet society, the acceleration of its progress towards the complete homogeneity of its social structure seen in obliteration of the surviving essential distinctions between the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, and in promotion of co-operation and friendship among all nations of the country, large and small, which constitute the united Soviet people; the all-round development of the democratic principles of the Soviet system, hingeing as it does on the active involvement of all citizens in the management of the affairs of society and state in accordance with the Constitution of the USSR.

Third, the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory in the light of new experience and the tasks set by the realities of life facing the Soviet people in building a communist society; free development of socialist culture, science and art in the interest of the people; education of the broad masses of the working people in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist

ideas, lofty moral principles, love for their socialist Motherland and respect for the peoples of other countries.

The greater part of the book is devoted to this many-sided life of Soviet society. It deals in detail with the activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at different stages of the country's development. Historically it so happened that after the victory of the October Revolution carried out under the direct leadership of the Leninist Party, the latter became the sole ruling party in the young Soviet Republic, because the absolute majority of the people actively supported and trusted this party alone. All other political parties which existed in the country sided with the ruling classes of tsarist Russia in their opposition to the socialist republic, were denied support by the people and eventually disintegrated. The Communist Party alone remained with the people; it has always regarded service of the people and its vital interests as the purpose of its existence and has thereby deserved their full confidence.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union today has a membership of about 17 million, uniting on a voluntary basis the most conscious and socially active vanguard of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia. With its wealth of experience and Marxist-Leninist theory to guide it, the CPSU plays the leading part in Soviet society. The Party directs the constructive work of the people, gives a scientifically grounded, planned and purposeful character to their efforts in building communism. Invariably expressing the interests of the working people and aware of its high responsibility to them, the Party enjoys with the whole Soviet people unchallenged prestige as their political leader.

In its foreign policy, which is discussed in detail in this book, the Soviet Union abides by the principles of peace laid down by Lenin and consistently implemented throughout the history of the Soviet state.

In full conformity with these principles, the Soviet Union pursues a policy of further consolidating the community of the fraternal socialist countries on the principles of equality, co-operation in the economic, cultural and ideological fields, coordination of foreign policies, and non-interference in internal affairs.

Another major goal of the foreign policy of the CPSU is consolidation of the unity of the international working-class and communist movement

on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. I have sought to show in my works the immense influence of Marxism-Leninism on the struggle waged by the international working class against the rule of the monopolies, for improving living standards, for democratic rights and freedoms, for peace and social progress.

As the most progressive revolutionary doctrine of modern times Marxism-Leninism has already proved its rightness and the irresistible force of its influence on the minds of men by many facts of world-historic significance. It was confirmed historically by the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the democratic and socialist revolutions in other countries, the construction of socialism in the USSR and other countries, the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism, the successes of the working-class and national liberation movements. Today no theoretical, ideological and political doctrine can rival Marxism-Leninism in its powerful influence on millions of people in all countries; under its impact a revolutionary renewal of the modern world is now in progress. This is evidenced by numerous facts of modern social development, if these facts are assessed soberly, without bias.

As is underscored in the material collected in this volume, the October Revolution was of tremendous significance for the contemporary international communist movement. Many of the now existing Communist parties sprang up and were shaped under the impact of the ideas of the October Revolution and have now grown into a potent socio-political force.

In its relations with states having a different socio-political system the Soviet Union invariably upholds the principles of peaceful coexistence, which imply promotion of international peace and security, reduction of armaments and cessation of the arms race to be followed by complete disarmament, mutually beneficial business co-operation between states, the equality and sovereignty of states and their non-interference in each other's internal affairs. These principles were proclaimed and proposed to all states in the very first decree of the Soviet government—the Decree on Peace drawn up by Lenin—and developed to suit the present situation in the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU (held in 1971 and 1976 respectively).

SELECTED SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

In the last few years a lessening of international tension has been achieved by the joint efforts of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and progressive people throughout the world. The Soviet state insists on a further expansion of *détente*, regarding it as the only right path to follow in averting the menace of world thermonuclear war, consolidating international peace and security.

The enemies of *détente* and of ending the arms race seek to mislead world opinion by terrifying people with the alleged threat of military attack from the Soviet Union. This is a lie easily disproved by facts. During its sixty-year history the Soviet state has never even attempted to attack any state. On the contrary, it had to fight heavy defensive wars against foreign interventionists and invaders.

The Soviet people, who bore the brunt of the last war which took a toll of 20 million lives and consumed a huge wealth created by the people, will never unleash war, which bodes nothing but disaster and suffering to the people.

Only adventurers, only irresponsible politicians risking the destiny of the world in a chase after current economic or political "advantages" and hoping to be spared the horrors of a worldwide catastrophe, can push mankind to the abyss of thermonuclear war. Such hopes, however, are vain. After a thermonuclear war, if one ever breaks out, there will be no victors, no modern civilisation, no present-day warlike politicians seeking "advantages".

The Soviet Union has no territorial claims on any country and no intention of imposing its will on other nations by force. By virtue of its social nature it has never threatened military attack on any country and will never make such threats.

Needless to say, the Soviet Union has an adequate defence capability but we need it exclusively for self-defence, not for aggression. And we are prepared to disarm at any time, if all other nations agree to do likewise.

In the last two years another milestone socio-political event took place in the Soviet Union: nationwide discussion of the draft Constitution of the USSR followed by its adoption. It legislatively confirms the great positive changes brought about in the political system of Soviet society

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

by the building of developed socialism and the establishment of the socialist state of the whole people. It reaffirms that the USSR unswervingly pursues a policy of peace, stands for greater international security and wider co-operation among nations.

I shall be highly gratified if this book helps the reader to learn more about the Soviet Union and the life of its people, the home and foreign policies of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

In conclusion I convey my best wishes to the readers of my book.

M. A. SUSLOV

Part 1

The Socialist Revolution of October 1917 and the Progress of Socialism

A GREAT FIFTY YEARS

Article from *Veliky Oktyabr i mirovoi revoliutsionny protsess*
(The Great October Revolution and the World Revolutionary
Process), Politizdat Publishers, Moscow, 1967

The social and political face of the world has changed radically during the fifty years since the Great October Socialist Revolution. In October 1917 the entire world system of oppression and exploitation of man by man was dealt a devastating blow. The establishment of the world's first socialist state ushered in a new era in world history, when, as Lenin put it, "mankind is throwing off the last form of slavery: capitalist, or wage, slavery".¹ A real way was opened towards realising mankind's centuries-old dream of building a society the supreme goal of which is the well-being and happiness of the people.

The world historic significance of the October Revolution and socialist construction in the USSR lies in the fact that the working class of the Soviet Union was the first in history to show the working people of the whole world the way to the victory of the proletarian revolution, to building a new society, and proved in practice the real advantages of socialism over capitalism. The heroic exploit of the Soviet people, who have built a socialist society and are confidently advancing towards communism, has multiplied the impact of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism on world development.

The ideas of the October Revolution are in the focus of mankind's attention. For half a century now, all progressives have invariably

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 307.

turned their minds to these ideas. They draw from the experience of the first victorious proletarian revolution strength and wisdom in the struggle for a bright future of the peoples.

In an effort to stop the inexorable advance of social progress the enemies of socialism distort the essence of the October Revolution and play down its international significance. But such attempts have invariably ended in a fiasco; all the more are they doomed to failure at the present time, the time of the existence and development of the world socialist system.

The entire course of world history over the last fifty years confirms the correctness of the path opened by the Great October Socialist Revolution, the historic righteousness of Marxism-Leninism, the correctness of the Leninist general line of the CPSU, and the world communist movement.

The Triumph of Socialism in the USSR: Supreme Achievement of the October Revolution

The process of transition from capitalism to communism, which was initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, was the logical result of mankind's development. The need for a revolutionary transformation of the old world arises from the bitter antagonisms of the capitalist system, which dooms the working people to countless hardships and suffering.

At one time capitalism was a vehicle of progress. By overcoming feudal stagnation it set in motion gigantic forces of material production and gave a strong impetus to scientific and technological progress. But capitalism could accomplish this only in the period of its ascendancy. It has long turned reactionary and become an obstacle to social progress. Immense productive forces and all processes of production and exchange, which have assumed a social character, in a society based on private ownership, are controlled by a handful of exploiters who also appropriate the results of the labour of millions upon millions of working people. As capitalism develops the main contradictions which characterise it also inevitably grow and sharpen, above all, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of ap-

propriation, the irreconcilable antagonism between the exploited and the exploiter classes, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

While creating enormous material wealth, capitalism at the same time precludes its use in the interest of those who produce it—the workers, the mass of the working people. The ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity proclaimed at the dawn of capitalism were bound to remain a fiction because capitalism did not remove the main obstacle to their realisation—the exploitation of the masses, but only replaced one form of exploitation with another—capitalist exploitation combining callousness and shamelessness with social demagoguery and subtle deception of the working people.

The growth and exacerbation of the antagonisms of bourgeois society, the intensified exploitation of the working class and all working people, i.e. the vast majority of the world's population, the brutal oppression of national minorities, political reaction, the most bloody wars in world history—such is the logical result of the development of the capitalist system, which has entered the imperialist era, the period of its decline. The transition of capitalism to the monopoly stage has not only further aggravated the antagonisms between labour and capital, between imperialism and the colonial countries, as well as between the imperialist powers themselves, but has created a threat to the very existence of the human race. Lenin wrote in this connection that “humanity must now choose between perishing or entrusting its fate to the most revolutionary class”.¹ He emphasised: “Outside of socialism there is *no* deliverance of humanity from wars, from hunger, from the destruction of still more millions and millions of human beings.”² These prophetic words were written half a century ago. At that time Dachau and Oswiecim, Hiroshima and Nagasaki were mere geographical names, and not symbols of unprecedented crimes against humanity arising not simply from the malice of individual groups of perverts but from the very essence of imperialism. It is hard to imagine what destiny imperialism would have prepared for mankind had not the growing might of the socialist society born in October 1917 stood in its way.

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 25, pp. 367–8.

² Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 24, p. 37.

SELECTED SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

Having overthrown the rule of the capitalists and landowners fifty years ago, Russia's revolutionary proletariat established the dictatorship of the proletariat—genuine democratic rule of the working people. The central goal the workers' and peasants' state set itself was to build the most equitable society—one of free and happy members knowing neither exploitation nor oppression.

The basis for the exploitation of man by man was abolished in the Soviet Republic in October 1917, and in the period that followed this centuries-old evil was done away with for good and all. The take-over of the key means of production by the working class and the working peasantry, socialist industrialisation, and the collectivisation of agriculture culminated in the triumph of socialist relations of production.

Since defeating the Nazi invaders in the Great Patriotic War the Soviet people have made further progress in peaceful construction and undertaken an all-out effort to build communism. Over the past fifty years they have achieved epoch-making successes in the political, social, economic, technological, and cultural fields.

In 1922, in a draft of the political report of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party to its 11th Congress, Lenin wrote, describing the situation in revolutionary Russia:

"The key problem: the *gulf* between the world historic grandeur of the tasks outlined and undertaken, on the one hand, and material and cultural impoverishment, on the other."¹

In the Soviet Union today there is no longer a gulf between the great goals of world historic importance it is pursuing and the material and cultural possibilities required to achieve them. The working class and other working people of the USSR have fulfilled Lenin's great behest: within a historically brief space of time Soviet society's material and cultural standards have been advanced to a high level, every kind of oppression of man by man has been abolished, a society has been created without antagonistic classes, an unprecedented moral and political unity of all social strata has been achieved, and the complete and final triumph of socialism has been assured.

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 45, p. 414.

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION OF OCTOBER 1917 AND THE PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM

The great social transformations which have taken place in the USSR are epitomised by the changed class structure of Soviet society (Table 1).

TABLE 1. *The class composition of the population of the USSR*
(in percentage, including non-working family members)

	1913	1928	1939	1966
Factory and office workers	17.0	17.6	50.2	76.4
Collective farmers and co-operated handicraftsmen	—	2.9	47.2	23.6
Individual farmers and handicraftsmen	66.7	74.9	2.6	—
The bourgeoisie, landowners, merchants, and kulaks	16.3	4.6	—	—
Total population	100	100	100	100

The Soviet people embarked on the building of socialism in extremely difficult conditions. We know that before the revolution Russia lagged far behind the leading industrial nations economically. The imperialist war and then the intervention of fourteen capitalist states against the young Soviet Republic further aggravated its economic plight. At the end of the intervention and the Civil War the output of large-scale industry had dropped to nearly one-seventh of what it was in 1913. Coal and oil production had declined to the nineteenth-century level and iron output to the level of the latter half of the eighteenth century. Gross agricultural output had diminished by 33 per cent.

For a capitalist country such a situation would mean a total catastrophe let alone its relegation as a great power. Significantly, not only enemies of Soviet Russia but even some of its sympathisers, owing to their narrow petty-bourgeois outlook, regarded the situation as hopeless. For instance, the outstanding British author H. G. Wells wrote that there was a likelihood of the "final collapse of all that remains of modern civilisation" in Bolshevik Russia.¹ Even among Communists there were sceptics who

¹ H. G. Wells, *Russia in the Shadows*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, *s.d.*, pp. 152-3.

doubted that the Soviet state could build socialism, relying on its own resources.

Unshakeable faith in the ideas of communism, the people, and the working class, profound understanding of the character of the changes in the concrete historical situation enabled Lenin and the Bolshevik Party to define a feasible way of building a new society. The advantages of the planned socialist economy, the heroic efforts of the masses, above all of the working class, and the correct policy of the Communist Party ensured the country's transformation into a mighty socialist power within a historically brief space of time.

An advanced socialist economy was built in place of the backward, predominantly agrarian economy.

In tsarist Russia the peasants accounted for three-quarters of the population. A little over one-tenth of the able-bodied population were employed in industry, construction, transport, and communications. A mere 1 per cent of the employed population worked in scientific and cultural institutions and in the medical services. As a result of the socialist transformations the situation has changed radically. About 50 per cent of all working people are now employed in industry, construction, trans-

TABLE 2. *Sectoral distribution of the population employed in the national economy*
(in percentage, without students and military personnel)

	1913	1928	1940	1966
Industry, construction, transport, and communications	11	10	28	43
Agriculture and forestry	75	80	54	32
Public education, public health, science, and cultural services	1	2	6	14
Distributive network, public catering, procurement services, supply of materials and machinery	9	3	5	6
Administrative apparatus and other sectors	4	5	7	5
Total employment	100	100	100	100

port, and communications; less than one-third of the able-bodied population work in agriculture; a large proportion are engaged in the cultural, medical, and research fields (Table 2).

The rapid Soviet economic progress is vividly illustrated by the fact that the key assets in all sectors of the economy in 1966 were more than 14 times those of 1913.

Soviet industrial progress has been particularly impressive. Half a century ago tsarist Russia, which accounted for about 10 per cent of the world's population, produced less than 3 per cent of world industrial output. Today the Soviet Union accounts for more than one fifth of it.

The very character of industrial production has changed radically. A modern industry capable of coping with the most sophisticated production and technological problems has been built. Notwithstanding the fact that about twenty of the fifty years that have elapsed since the October Revolution were taken up by wars forced on the Soviet people and by post-war economic recovery, the gross industrial output of the USSR is now 66 times as much as it was in 1913 and 330 times as much as in 1920 (Table 3).

TABLE 3. *Production of key industries*

	1913	1940	1966
Electric power (1000 m. kWh)	2	48	545
Coal (m. tons)	29	166	585
Oil (m. tons)	10	31	265
Steel (m. tons)	4.3	18.3	96.9
Metal-cutting lathes (thousands)	2	58	191
Motor vehicles (thousands)	—	145	675
Tractors (thousands)	—	32	382
Cement (m. tons)	1.8	5.7	80
Fabrics (1000 m. m ²)	2.2	3.3	7.9
Leather footwear (m. pairs)	68	211	522
Radio sets and radiogramophones (thousands)	—	160	5841
TV sets (thousands)	—	0.3	4415
Refrigerators (thousands)	—	3.5	2204
Washing machines (thousands)	—	—	3869

In 1913 tsarist Russia produced less electric power, coal, steel, and cement than Britain or France. Today the Soviet Union produces these items in larger quantities than Britain, France, and the Federal Republic of Germany combined. Such is the spectacular advance made by the Soviet people from backwardness to modern progress. Such are the wonders that the working class is capable of when it has taken power into its own hands and freed itself from exploitation. Even such conservative press organs as the French newspaper *Le Figaro* now have to admit that the USSR has made spectacular progress and become

“the world’s second biggest industrial power treading on the heels of the United States in the production of steel, electric power, the major types of raw materials, and rivalling or excelling it in the educational field, large construction projects, various aspects of military might and advanced technology, atomic power development, rocketry and space exploration”.¹

Great changes have also taken place in agriculture as a result of the measures carried out by the Soviet government since the October Revolution to transform rural life on socialist lines. There were 10 million wooden ploughs, 18 million wooden harrows, and 4 million iron ploughs available to the inhabitants of the poverty-stricken countryside before the Revolution. After the October Revolution it was Lenin’s dream to have 100,000 tractors with which to begin the socialist restructuring of the rural economy. In 1966, 1,700,000 tractors, 540,000 grain harvesting combines, and 1,013,000 lorries were in use on the fields of Soviet collective and state farms. The power-to-man ratio in agriculture was roughly 16 times that between 1913 and 1917.

The output of the main types of agricultural produce today is 100–150 per cent greater than it was in pre-revolutionary years, and the production of cotton has grown seven-fold (Table 4).

The cultural revolution was a major component of the socialist reconstruction of society in the USSR. To enlighten the masses, spread scientific knowledge, bring the values of progressive world culture within

¹ *Le Figaro*, 7 March 1967.

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION OF OCTOBER 1917 AND THE PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM

TABLE 4. *Output of main types of agricultural produce*
(annual average)

	1909–13	1924–8	1936–40	1961–5	1966
Total agricultural output (1000 m. roubles 1958 prices)	20.9	22.0	23.5	52.4	61.5
Grain (m. tons)	72.5	69.3	77.4	130.3	170.8
Cotton (m. tons)	0.7	0.6	2.5	4.92	5.98
Meat, slaughter weight (m. tons)	4.8	4.2	4.0	9.3	10.8
Milk (m. tons)	28.8	20.3	26.5	64.7	75.8
Eggs (1000 m.)	11.2	9.2	9.6	28.7	31.6
Wool (thousand tons)	192	157	129	362	368

reach of the people, rapidly develop Soviet science, literature, and the arts, raise a new intelligentsia from among the people, were all indispensable conditions for breakthrough economic advances, for raising labour productivity, and stimulating the creativity of the working people.

Describing tsarist Russia’s cultural lag, Lenin wrote in 1913:

“There is no other country so barbarous and in which the masses of the people are *robbed* to such an extent of education, light, and knowledge—no other such country has remained in Europe.”¹

At that time almost two-thirds of the population were illiterate. And this in a country which had given the world Pushkin and Tolstoy, Herzen and Chernyshevsky, Tchaikovsky and Repin, Mendeleyev and Tsiolkovsky.

The very idea of the possibility of switching over to building socialism in a country so backward economically was a challenge to the views which had become traditional within the Second International. Lenin’s great contribution was his totally new presentation of the problem: it was necessary to begin with the overthrow of capitalism and on this basis to make rapid progress in raising the economy and the cultural standards of the people.

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 19, p. 139.

Lenin's expectations were entirely justified. Within the lifetime of one generation Russia was remade into a country of 100 per cent literacy, advanced culture, and science. At the beginning of 1967, 84.5 million Soviet citizens had a higher, secondary, or incomplete secondary (including seven-year) education. In the coming few years the entire younger generation will obtain a complete secondary education. The student body of Soviet institutions of higher education is four times that of Britain, France, Italy, and the Federal Republic of Germany taken together. Now nearly 13 million specialists with a higher or secondary specialised education—68 times as many as in 1913—are employed in the Soviet economy. Science has an increasingly important role to play in Soviet society. The total number of research workers increased from 11,600 in 1914 to 712,000 in 1966. In tsarist Russia science was a privilege of the ruling classes, whereas in the Soviet Union it has become accessible to all citizens.

In the Soviet Union scientific and cultural achievements are available to all working people and benefit the people as a whole. What Lenin said has now come true:

"In the old days, human genius, the brain of man, created only to give some the benefits of technology and culture, and to deprive others of the bare necessities, education and development. From now on all the marvels of science and the gains of culture belong to the nation as a whole, and never again will man's brain and human genius be used for oppression and exploitation."¹

It was perfectly logical that it should be a socialist society to open a new chapter in the history of world science and culture, that the Soviet people should blaze the trail into the mysterious void of outer space, and turn science into a powerful productive force of socialist society.

The political, socio-economic, and cultural transformations have radically changed the living conditions of the working people of the USSR, and have provided the prerequisites for a rapid rise in their living standards. The high level of education, the availability of the benefits of science and culture to the masses, a confidence in the future, and a happy

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 26, pp. 481-2.

life for their children unthinkable under capitalism—all this has become a reality of Soviet society and the communist civilisation it is building.

Great progress has been made in improving the well-being of the Soviet people. The Soviet Union's national income in 1966 was 34 times that of 1913.

The growth of the national income makes it possible not only to guarantee extended socialist reproduction but also to raise steadily the well-being of the working people. In the period 1941-66 the per capita real income in the USSR increased 220 per cent.

The supply of the population with consumer goods and foodstuffs has improved considerably. There has been a sharp increase in the consumption of the most valuable foodstuffs. The per capita consumption of meat, fat, milk, and dairy products has increased more than 50 per cent, of eggs 150 per cent, and of sugar 300 per cent as compared with 1913. As a result, the average per capita annual consumption of bakery products has diminished from 200 kg to 154. The Soviet state will continue to see to it that the people's diet is more varied and nourishing and that the proportion of fruit and vegetables, as well as of meat and dairy products, in their diet is increased.

The improvement in the well-being of the people has resulted in an unprecedentedly rapid increase in the expectation of life in the USSR. During Soviet years the average life-span has more than doubled, increasing from 32 to 70 years.

If the Soviet people had not been forced to fight the foreign interventionists and the Nazi hordes in the Second World War, to spend large sums in peacetime to maintain the armed forces in readiness for defence, the Soviet working people's living standards would have been immeasurably higher.

The achievements of socialism in the Soviet Union are truly splendid. As Lenin wrote, however, "the best way to celebrate the anniversary of a great revolution is to concentrate attention on its unsolved problems".¹

It would be a gross error for us to rest on our laurels and close our eyes to the existing difficulties and shortcomings. It is no secret that produc-

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 33, p. 109.

tion reserves in our country are still inadequately utilised, the quality of many lines of goods, particularly consumer goods, is still low; occasional shortcomings in planning upset the balance in the national economy, while scientific and technological achievements are insufficiently applied at some enterprises. Quite a lot of effort has still to be put in, a number of grave socio-economic problems resolved, and an enormous amount of organising and educational work carried out to build up the material and technical basis of communism and thereby guarantee a further steep rise in the people's living standards and continued rapid progress of Soviet science and culture.

The five-year economic development plan of the USSR for 1966-70 is an important step along this path. The Directives for this plan approved by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU provide for the development of all industries on a vast scale, for high and stable development rates of agriculture, for a considerable increase in the efficiency of social production, for a strengthening of the country's economic potential and defence capability. The current five-year plan by far exceeds earlier plans as regards absolute figures of national income and industrial production, the scope of new construction, and many other indices.

In the current, eighth five-year-plan period the living standards of the working class and all working people will rise considerably. Comrade Leonid Brezhnev said in his report to the 23rd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party:

"The Party will spare no effort to achieve this end. At the head of the people and hand in hand with the people, the Communists will do their utmost for the life of Soviet people to become better, richer, and more cultured year after year. This is what we consider our supreme duty. It is in the name of this that we are building communism."¹

In socialist society concern for the people and steady improvement of their life are the supreme aim of government policy. Production in the USSR is developed in the interest of the people, to meet their steadily growing requirements as fully as possible. One cannot but feel indignant, therefore, at the arguments of some would-be theoreticians like Mao

¹ 23rd Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1966, p. 116.

Tse-tung, who slander this policy of the Communist parties of the USSR and other socialist countries by declaring it to be "revisionist" and even a policy of "restoration of capitalism". A complete distortion of the principles of scientific socialism are the absurd theories of Mao Tse-tung, who, trying to make a kind of virtue out of poverty, preaches the thesis "To seek high indices in production, to keep to a low level in life" in the spirit of petty-bourgeois, "barrack-room" socialism. This thesis will please any capitalist who wants the workers to work as much as possible and to get paid as little as possible. To oppose the tasks of production development to those of raising living standards, as the Chinese quasi-theoreticians do, means to distort the meaning of socialist and communist construction.

The development of agriculture is one of the most important factors in stepping up the growth rates of production and improving the well-being of the Soviet people. Our Party and its Central Committee constantly give close attention to the cardinal problems of agriculture. The measures planned by the March 1965 and May 1966 plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU and by the 23rd Party Congress on the basis of concrete experience and the objective economic laws of socialism are being steadily implemented.

As we know, these measures amount in essence to reinforcing the material and technical basis of agriculture, fixing economically motivated purchase prices of farm produce, and adopting a new planning procedure whereby the collective and state farms have rigid plans laid down for them only as regards sales of farm produce to the state and are given free scope in handling all their management tasks. Guaranteed pay for agricultural workers and pensions for the collective farmers have been instituted. During the last few years the material incentives for agricultural workers to raise the productivity of agriculture and livestock farming have been considerably increased.

All this has greatly stimulated the labour enthusiasm of the farmers and contributed to the economic development of the collective and state farms. Practical prerequisites have been created for further rapid progress in this key branch of the economy as well.

We have set ourselves great and complicated tasks in the current five-year plan. These tasks, however, are based on sober assessment and are

absolutely realistic. The advantages of the socialist economic system, perfection of management principles on scientific lines, and the growing initiative of the masses—all lay a firm groundwork for attaining the goals set and for doing more than is envisaged by the five-year plan. As our country grows richer and stronger, the life of the people steadily improves, and the attractive force of the ideas of communism increases.

The indisputable advantages and achievements of socialism in the socio-economic field borne out by the half-a-century-long experience of the Soviet system are linked inseparably with the development of socialist social relations and socialist democracy.

Since the first days of Soviet power the bourgeoisie has sought to make capital by opposing bourgeois democracy to the dictatorship of the proletariat. As such attempts are still in evidence to this day, it is worthwhile dwelling on them in greater detail.

In a strictly theoretical interpretation the term "dictatorship" means the political domination of a definite class in a class society. In this sense the notion "dictatorship of the proletariat" expresses the essence of the political power of the working class in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, just as the term "dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" reflects the essence of the political domination of the capitalists.

From the historical point of view bourgeois democracy means indisputable progress as compared with both the feudal system which preceded it and the terrorist forms of domination of monopoly capital in the modern epoch. Even the most perfect democracy based on capitalism, however, expresses the interests of the ruling class, i.e. the bourgeoisie, and is a form of its dictatorship. It does not remove, nor can it remove the main cause of the inequality of men—the private ownership of the means of production and the resulting domination of the exploited majority by the exploiter minority. What is more, as demonstrated by historical experience, in the conditions of imperialism the bourgeois-democratic order may be replaced by the most brutal terrorist forms of domination by monopoly capital.

A distinctive feature of socialist democracy is that it not only recognises equality of rights for all but also ensures the development of society in accordance with the interests and aspirations of the working

people, of the people as a whole. The participation of the workers and other sections of the working people in the management of the affairs of state and the economy, the genuine equality of men and women, the abolition of all restrictions and privileges connected with nationality—this above all is what makes socialist democracy real, and not just formal. Soon after the October Revolution Lenin emphasised that:

"the Soviet revolution has given an unprecedented impulse to the development of democracy in breadth and in depth, democracy, that is, for the working people oppressed by capitalism, democracy for the overwhelming majority of the people, socialist democracy (for the working people), as distinct from bourgeois democracy (for the exploiters, for the capitalists, for the rich)."¹

Soviet socialist democracy has passed a series of stages in its development.

The Soviet state was established as an instrument of the political power of the working class, i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat required for organising socialist construction, for suppressing the resistance of the exploiters, for overcoming vacillations and re-educating unstable petty-bourgeois elements in order to enlist them in socialist construction. In the early years of Soviet power, when the overthrown ruling classes supported by international imperialism attempted to restore the old order and impose it on the working people, it was necessary not only to limit the political and civil rights of the exploiter classes but also to use force in response to their use of force. Yet even in the period of the most bitter class struggle, democracy was restricted, in effect, only for a tiny minority in the name of the interests of and broad democracy for the vast majority of the country's population. The violent forms of struggle forced on Russia's proletariat by the capitalists and landowners cost it many additional sacrifices and sufferings.

Since then the economic, political, and social bases of Soviet socialist democracy have grown and become immeasurably stronger. In the USSR, public ownership of the means of production has been exclusively established, a socialist economic system has been built, and the hostile classes

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 30, p. 120.

have vanished. Having built socialism, the Soviet people have embarked on the construction of a communist society. In the Soviet Union the conditions which give rise to exploitation of man by man have been abolished, and for a long time already there have been no classes and social groups interested in such exploitation. Now we have an unbreakable alliance of the working class and the peasantry, moral and political unity of the workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals, fraternal friendship of all Soviet nations united under the leadership of their time-tested vanguard—the Communist Party. These social achievements are the deep-rooted basis of Soviet democracy. The socialist state has truly become a state expressing the will and upholding the interests of the whole of the people. And in the conditions of communist construction, too, the working class, as the best organised and most class-conscious class consistently adhering to communist ideology, plays the leading role in the Soviet state.

The transforming power of socialist democracy is strikingly exemplified by the solution of the nationalities question in the USSR. Tsarist Russia was justly called a “prison of nations”. One of the first steps of the young Soviet power was to grant the oppressed peoples of the former Russian Empire the right to shape their destinies themselves.

The solution of this problem under socialism is characterised by the granting of broad and equal political rights to all nations and the provision of the conditions required to overcome their historical inequality in the fields of material production, living standards, and culture. The October Revolution was the first revolution in history which not only proclaimed the right of nations to free self-determination but also translated it into reality.

The half-a-century-long history of the USSR has graphically demonstrated that the utmost democratism in relations between nations is the most effective means of bringing them closer together on an internationalist basis.

“We want a *voluntary* union of nations. . . [Lenin said in this context], a union founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent.”¹

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 30, p. 293.

It is a matter of common knowledge what a low level of economic and cultural development, what poverty and deprivation of rights of the overwhelming majority of the population distinguished, for instance, tsarist Russia's vast eastern provinces inhabited by national minorities, where feudal relations prevailed. They had hardly any machine industry. Many small nations totalling about 25 million people even had no written language.

During the half a century of Soviet power the formerly backward nations have made progress which would have taken them centuries to achieve under capitalism. With fraternal assistance from the Russian and other peoples of the USSR they have accomplished a leap forward from the Middle Ages to modern times. Some of the formerly oppressed nations of the Russian Empire have arrived at socialism bypassing the capitalist stage of development, which dooms the masses to the torments of poverty, hunger, and sometimes to physical extermination. The economic progress of the Soviet eastern republics is truly spectacular. In 1966 the gross industrial output in the USSR as a whole was 66 times that of 1913, whereas in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia, for instance, it was 101 and 117 times respectively. The tendency of the Soviet Union's constituent republics towards accelerated economic development persists today. For instance, the total increment in gross industrial output planned for 1967 for the whole of the Soviet Union is 7.3 per cent, for Kazakhstan and Kirghizia it is 9.4 and 12.6 per cent respectively.

The cultural image of Soviet nations has changed beyond recognition. Not only did Central Asia and Kazakhstan have no higher education establishments but even general education schools with instruction in the native language were rare there. Today the higher education establishments and specialised secondary schools there have a total student body of almost 850,000. During the last 39 years the number of Tajiks in higher education establishments has increased almost 200 times, of Uzbeks 224 times, of Kirghiz 187 times, of Turkmens 178 times, and of Kazakhs 253 times. As regards the development of national culture the Soviet Central Asian republics have outstripped by far not only the semi-colonial countries of the capitalist world but even many bourgeois states of the West.

In contrast to the capitalist countries where "two cultures" exist and struggle with one another within every nation, Soviet society has a flowering culture with a single ideological and social content without any division into culture of the élite and culture of the masses. Socialist culture pervaded with the Communist Party spirit, collectivism, friendship among nations, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism serves the working people, enriches their spiritual world, and asserts communist ideals.

Under socialism all the benefits of education, science, and technology, all the achievements of the arts are the patrimony of the whole nation, belong to all the working people. At the same time, socialist reality presents an infinite wealth of ideas, subjects, and images, noble and heroic prototypes, which are an inexhaustible source of inspiration to the artist.

Multinational Soviet art has won worldwide recognition and prestige because all of its varieties and forms in their unity and interaction present a truthful and profound picture of life in its rich diversity, and because socialist realist art is remarkable for its courage, its innovative quests, and its active struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism.

As a result of the abolition of the exploiter classes—carriers of the ideology of great-power chauvinism and reactionary nationalism—in the course of the common struggle for socialism, active participation, and mutual assistance in the all-out building of communism, equality, indissoluble union and fraternal friendship of all the peoples of the socialist homeland have been established in the USSR, and the scientific prediction of Marx and Engels that "in proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end",¹ has been fully confirmed.

In view of the importance of a correct nationalities policy, the Soviet Communist Party devotes keen attention to this problem. The Party resolves all the problems of relations between nationalities arising in the course of communist construction according to the principles of proletarian internationalism and on the basis of unswerving implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy. The Communist Party does not permit national distinctions to be either ignored or exaggerated.

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 503.

The new mutual relations between nations, which have no precedent in history and which consistently combine the principle of equality with disinterested fraternal assistance, are conclusive evidence of the superiority of socialist democracy, of the great achievements and still greater potentialities of socialism.

The fifty-year history of the Soviet state graphically demonstrates its immense achievements and the superiority of socialism over capitalism in the socio-political and economic fields.

Socialism has established new relations between individuals, replaced a society based on exploitation and oppression with a system in which exploitation has been abolished, the fundamentals of social equality and justice have been asserted, relations between people have become truly human relations of friendship and co-operation in which man, his well-being and happiness, are the principal criterion of social progress. The main result of the selfless work of the Soviet people and of the theoretical and practical activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union over the last fifty years is that mankind now has the example of a really existing socialist society. The Soviet people have paved the road to socialism and communism. It is already being followed by many nations and will in time be taken by all of the nations.

The CPSU: The Leading Force in Communist Construction

The victory of the October Revolution, the building of socialism in the USSR, and all the epoch-making achievements of the Soviet people have been made possible by the leadership of the working class and its time-tested Marxist-Leninist vanguard. The leading role of the CPSU steadily grows along with the advance of Soviet society towards communism. The Party's political, organising, and ideological activities among the masses become increasingly effective.

The Party directs the development of Soviet society according to profoundly scientific principles.

As is known, all pre-socialist formations were governed by the laws of spontaneous social development. The Great October Socialist Revolu-

tion gave birth to a social system in which spontaneous development is replaced by conscious direction of social processes on the basis of their profound scientific analysis. The socialist revolution made direction of social processes on scientific lines not only possible but even necessary for society's progressive development.

The overthrow of the rule of the capitalists and the landowners, the socialisation of the means of production, and the abolition of the exploiter classes provided the conditions for an unprecedented growth of the productive forces, for the emergence and perfection of new, socialist relations among people. It would be wrong to presume, however, that the objective advantages of socialism can bring about the triumph of communism by themselves, automatically, without a Marxist-Leninist party pursuing the correct policy.

History shows that as the scale of social transformations is widened, the importance of the active, conscious efforts of the working class and all working people increases, and the role of their vanguard—the Communist Party equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory—is enhanced. The policy of the Party expresses the vital interests of the working class and the working masses in general. On the basis of knowledge of the objective laws of social development, the Party arms the builders of the new life with the understanding of the aims and ways of struggle, organises and unites them to accomplish the tasks outlined, to overcome the difficulties and contradictions arising in day-to-day life and in the practical activities of the masses.

Socialism calls into being new powerful forces of social development and creates all the conditions required for society's progress towards communism. Socialism resolves antagonisms of social development which cannot be resolved within capitalism. This, however, by no means implies the elimination of contradictions in social development in general. The idea that contradictions under socialism vanish or are simply "maladies", "ailments", or "shortcomings" is at variance with the fundamental propositions of Marxist-Leninist theory, with the real practice of socialist construction. The Marxist-Leninist teaching implies that one should not shut one's eyes to the contradictions of social development occurring in real life.

Development through the emergence and resolution of contradictions is a universal law of the dialectical development of nature and society. A distinctive feature of socialism is the absence of antagonistic contradictions and not of contradictions in general. Socialism allows society to resolve contradictions in the interest of all the working people, of society as a whole, within the framework of the given system and with the object of strengthening that system.

What is the origin of contradictions under socialism? First, it should be borne in mind that socialism, as the first phase of communism, does not come into being on its own but develops out of capitalism. It inherits in the process objective conditions which preclude for a relatively long time direct transition to complete equality and the establishment of "pure" communist social relations.

Social production under socialism is not yet developed enough to meet all the requirements of each member of society and ensure the all-round development of his personality. This contradiction is resolved by the continued planned and balanced development of the productive forces, all branches of the socialist economy, by building up the material and technical basis of communism. Lenin pointed out in this connection:

"In its first phase, or first stage, communism *cannot* as yet be fully mature economically and entirely free from traditions or vestiges of capitalism."¹

This applies not only to the economy but also to the system of social relations under socialism.

The abolition of the exploiter classes followed by the gradual erasing of distinctions between the friendly classes of the workers and the peasants results in a strong moral and political unity of socialist society based on the common vital interests of all its strata. Long after the abolition of the exploiter classes, however, there remain certain distinctions between individual social groups, substantial distinctions between town and country, between mental and physical work—distinctions that can and will be overcome only in the process of further conscious advance towards communism.

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 25, p. 476.

Nor should it be forgotten that after the victory of the socialist revolution a contradiction persists for a long time between the new socio-economic structure of society and its inherent relations of production, on the one hand, and a certain lag in the level of consciousness of the masses, survivals of the past which still make themselves felt in some sections of the population, on the other hand. Under socialism, society as a whole continues to wage a determined struggle against such anti-social actions on the part of some individuals as misappropriation of socialist property, profiteering, parasitism, hooliganism, propaganda of reactionary, hostile bourgeois ideology, etc. Such contradictions do not arise from the relations between classes in socialist society; nevertheless, they are associated with definite processes in the life of society and imply the necessity for active struggle against carriers of anti-socialist tendencies.

Another important source of contradictions under socialism is the fact that socialism and communism are built not in a vacuum but in conditions of confrontation between the socialist system and world capitalism, in the course of a bitter economic, political, and ideological struggle against imperialism. During the fifty-year history of the Soviet state the external circumstances have more than once compelled it to take counter-measures, in the military field in particular, which are not directly motivated by the internal requirements of socialism but are vital to the defence of its gains against imperialist aggression, to the cause of democracy, peace, and socialism throughout the world. This is one of the sources of contradictions connected with the existence of capitalism.

It would be wrong to presume, however, that all contradictions arising inside socialist society are attributable exclusively to the influence of capitalism. Such a presentation of the problem would only hamper settlement of urgent problems and elimination of shortcomings which were encountered in the past and are encountered today.

Socialist society is a living organism which has its past and its future, its elements of obsolescence and elements coming into being. Hence the conflict and struggle between the progressive and the backward in the sphere of social being and consciousness, between up-to-date and out-dated forms and methods of economic management, between the demands of technological progress and obsolete working methods. One

should always remember Lenin's advice that "it is important to realise how infinitely mendacious is the ordinary bourgeois conception of socialism as something lifeless, rigid, fixed once and for all".¹

Experience convincingly testifies that what was progressive and up-to-date yesterday may cease to be such today. Even the most sophisticated equipment becomes obsolete in time, entering into conflict with the new possibilities and new requirements. If this conflict is not detected and resolved in good time, it may be harmful to the development of society.

Contradictions also occur in the sphere of relations of production and their interaction with the productive forces. Socialist relations of production differ basically, of course, from capitalist relations; they are of a far higher order than relations existing in any bourgeois country. Socialist relations of production offer unprecedented scope for the development of the productive forces and are a powerful stimulus for scientific and technological progress. But for full use to be made of the advantages of these relations, the forms and methods of their implementation, the principles of economic management must be brought into line with the existing conditions, modified and consciously perfected along with the development of society. Oblivion of this fact, complacency and conservatism in economic work, just as unwarranted forestalling of events, may limit the objective advantages of socialist relations of production.

The measures taken by the Party during the last few years to improve planning and production management give a clear idea of how contradictions of this kind are resolved. These are not simply organisational and technical measures; they are a major socio-political step ensuring greater conformity of the concrete forms of socialist relations of production to the level of the productive forces attained in the USSR.

Finally, contradictions exist also in the organisational forms of management in socialist society. These forms have invariably been based on the time-tested Leninist principle of democratic centralism. Nevertheless, the concrete forms of the application of this principle, which are valid for a given period, may come into conflict with a new situation taking shape in the process of the development of socialism. Such contradic-

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 25, p. 477.

tions must be detected in good time, the effectiveness and practicability of the existing forms and methods of work must be constantly verified and if necessary they must be brought into line with the new tasks arising in the process of building socialism and communism.

In Lenin's interpretation, contradictions are a constructive as well as destructive force, the motive power of social progress and a source of development. However, there is a fundamental difference between contradictions under capitalism and under socialism. Under capitalism they are antagonistic and are resolved chaotically through stiff competition, war, class conflicts, and revolutions, leading eventually to the abolition of capitalism itself. Under socialism contradictions can be resolved by learning and consciously applying the laws of social development in the interest of the people.

Non-antagonistic contradictions under socialism are varied and dissimilar as regards their character, forms of manifestation, and the means of resolving them. In real life they often operate by interacting and interweaving with one another. It would, of course, be quite a simple matter if contradictions in the development of socialist society manifested themselves in a "pure" form, if all phenomena could be classified and mechanically divided into "good" and "bad" so that the former could be encouraged and the latter banished. Unfortunately, in real life this does not happen as a rule. The old and the new are often interconnected and interlaced. Formal logic is of no use for analysing and solving the complicated problems of social development. Lenin repeatedly warned against an oversimplified approach to social phenomena and against trying at all costs to make them fit in with the customary formulas and schemes and insisted on an all-round study of the facts in the full spectrum of their interconnection and development, a concrete and not a formal analysis, with systematic verification by practices of theoretical conclusions, political and economic decisions. Only such a truly scientific approach combining careful preservation of what is confirmed by practice with a determined reconsideration of conclusions and methods disproved by experience offers any possibility for overcoming the contradictions arising in the course of socialist development, provides the conditions for increasingly effective utilisation of the objective advantages and oppor-

tunities of socialism, for Soviet society's successful advance towards communism.

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine is the solid scientific foundation of the policy of the CPSU, which is leading the Soviet people towards communism. The truth of this doctrine is confirmed by world history and the fifty-year experience of the USSR. Loyalty to revolutionary theory, a creative Marxist-Leninist approach to reality and to theory itself have enabled the CPSU to outline correctly and attain successfully a number of great aims of truly world historic significance.

The first great aim advanced by the Party at the turn of the century was to overthrow the tsarist autocracy and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. This aim was achieved at the cost of enormous efforts and sacrifices.

The second great aim was to make the country socialist, to abolish the exploiter classes, to develop the productive forces, to advance the cultural standards of the people, and to get the masses to take an active part in building a new life. This aim was also achieved successfully. Socialism has won a complete, final, and irrevocable victory in the USSR.

The third great aim was to defend the independence of the Soviet Homeland against aggression from imperialist powers. This aim was successfully achieved during the foreign intervention and the Civil War and during the war against Nazi Germany. Under the leadership of the Party the Soviet people defended their independence and saved world civilisation from the Nazi plague.

The Soviet Union's spectacular progress during the last fifty years has not been simple or easy. It also had its shortcomings, setbacks, and mistakes. In addition to difficulties connected with the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from capitalism, the Soviet Union was confronted by a formidable imperialist threat. Our Party upheld its general line of socialist construction in a bitter struggle against the Trotskyites, petty-bourgeois adventurers, right-wing opportunists, nationalist deviationists, and other anti-Leninist trends and groups. At the same time it had to cope with the difficulties connected with its honourable but unusually complex role of a pioneer exploring new, untrodden paths into mankind's future.

Marx, Engels, and Lenin in their brilliant far-sightedness outlined the main directions and principles of the historical transition from capitalism to socialism and the development of socialist into communist society. But unlike the Utopian socialists they never claimed foreknowledge of individual concrete features and details of this transition. Lenin repeatedly said that before the revolution the Marxists had been able to pose the questions of scientific communism only in a most general, abstract theoretical form, because the material, experience, and practice necessary to pose them concretely were not yet available. "By what stages, by means of what practical measures humanity will proceed to this supreme aim," Lenin pointed out, "we do not and cannot know."¹

After the socialist revolution the situation changed radically. Scientific communism was put to the test of real life and the experience of the multi-million masses.

On the basis of this experience Lenin revealed and substantiated the ways and means of building the material and technical basis of socialism and developing socialist relations of production, the constructive role of the socialist state in building a new society, and elaborated the scientific principles for the direction of socialist construction. He explained and scientifically justified the need for industrialisation, collectivisation of agriculture, a socialist cultural revolution, and the involvement of the mass of the people in managing all the affairs of society. Lenin pointed out at the same time that the central aim of the new society—to meet the growing material and cultural requirements of the people more and more fully—could be achieved under socialism only by raising labour productivity to a maximum level that is higher than under capitalism and by applying consistently the principle of material stimulation of the workers employed in the economy.

By summing up all the experience in socialist construction in the USSR and applying Leninism to the concrete conditions of social development, the Party has put forward and substantiated a number of new and most important principles of scientific communism. These refer among others to the problems involved in the development of socialism

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 25, p. 477.

into communism, the building of the material and technical basis of communism, the convergence of the two forms of socialist property, the perfection of socialist social relations, the development of socialist democracy, the strengthening of the socialist state and the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people, and the growing role of the Communist Party in the construction of communism.

A host of problems never known anywhere before have been coming up in practical socialist construction. To find the correct solution to these problems one needs not only knowledge of the general theoretical principles of socialist development but also a profound understanding of the concrete mechanism of their interaction, the most intricate system of interconnected factors operating within a socialist society which really exists and is progressing.

Hence the great importance of the measures taken by the Party to overcome the consequences of the personality cult and subjectivism, to strengthen and develop the Leninist standards of Party and government work, to further promote socialist democracy, to enhance the scientific approach to the solution of both the general problems and the concrete tasks arising in every new stage of communist construction.

In all its activities, in tackling the different problems of economic development, perfecting social relations, promoting scientific and cultural progress, the Party invariably pursues the great aim of building communism. No progress at all would have been possible without this principal eventual aim. An aim alone, however great and noble, is not enough for a correct policy. To achieve this aim and to guarantee success in building communism, the Party must proceed from the existing realities, take into account the actual stage of development reached by our society, gain increasingly profound knowledge of how to use the objective laws and possibilities inherent in the socialist system.

What are the existing realities to be borne in mind when formulating and pursuing the policy of building communism in the USSR? First of all, it is socialism. The full triumph of socialism has enabled us to embark on building a communist society. It should not be forgotten, however, that we are still in the first phase of the communist socio-economic for-

mation, and hence our policy should take into account and be based on knowledge of the economic laws operating in this phase. Failure to understand this circumstance and disregard for the economic laws of socialism at the present stage of building communist society practically lead to subjectivism in policy planning, to skipping over necessary stages in the development of society, to various derangements in the national economy, and to a reduction in the rates of social production. The Party has resolutely denounced all forms and manifestations of subjectivism as alien to Leninism.

Proceeding from a concrete analysis of Soviet economic development the Party has worked out a system of measures to bring the principles of economic management into line with the level of the productive forces and social consciousness attained in the Soviet Union and with the majestic tasks of communist construction. This is precisely the import of the economic policy worked out by the March and September plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee in 1965 and approved by the 23rd Party Congress. This policy is an expression of the Party's scientific, objective analysis of the concrete conditions of transition from the first to the higher stage of communism.

The economic policy pursued by the Party at the present stage is to raise the efficiency of social production, to achieve maximum results with the lowest expenditure of labour and material resources on the basis of broad application of scientific and technological achievements, and fuller utilisation of the advantages of the socialist system. With this end in view steps are being taken to enhance the role of economic methods and incentives, to radically improve government planning, to combine centralised sectoral management with greater economic autonomy and initiative of enterprises, to raise the interest of production collectives in their performance results, and to promote the principle of moral encouragement and economic stimulation of labour. The more the workers or collectives contribute to the good of society, the more they are entitled to respect and the greater the reward they are entitled to for their labour.

The system of measures to raise the efficiency of the socialist economy marks an important stage in the history of the USSR. We have just entered this stage. Much important work remains to be done to take full

advantage of the scientific principles of management and planning. This will certainly yield most beneficial results.

Some foreign press writers depict these measures as a "return to capitalism" and its economic practices. Such allegations are unfounded and absurd. Improvement of government planning, of economic and moral stimulation directly follows from the principles and laws of socialism, develops in fact the revolutionary energy, initiative, and creativity of the masses, contributes to the further development of socialist emulation, strengthens the socialist economy, and provides new opportunities for its rapid progress and a further rise in the Soviet people's well-being. What this policy of the Party means is more skilful and effective use of the laws of socialism to ensure further progress towards communism. Its fruitfulness is eloquently illustrated by its practical results. This is conclusively testified, for example, by the overfulfilment of the 1966 economic plan for all its main indicators and by the successful economic development in the current year.

The economic reform now being implemented in the USSR permits of no routine approach and requires executives of all ranks to advance the efficiency of their management of the economy, their economic competence, and improve their ability to apply up-to-date scientific and technological achievements in production.

Emphasising the need for a scientific approach to the management of the socialist economy, Lenin said:

"Management necessarily implies competency... a knowledge of all the conditions of production down to the last detail and of the latest technology of your branch of production is required; you must have had a certain scientific training. These are the conditions we must satisfy at any cost."¹

These words of Lenin's are as valid today as they were half a century ago.

The Communist Party is determined to continue its tireless efforts to promote science as the basis for progress, to work for accelerated tech-

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 30, p. 428.

nological modernisation of the national economy, to introduce machines and mechanisms of more advanced designs in production. One of the most important tasks is to achieve incomparably higher labour productivity in all sectors of the national economy than in any capitalist country.

The Soviet people are celebrating the great fiftieth anniversary of Soviet power with spectacular achievements to their credit. Socialism, which has become a reality in the USSR, has opened broad opportunities for further progress towards the realisation of mankind's cherished dream—communism. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the working class, the collective farmers, the intelligentsia—the working people of all large and small nations of the USSR—are working with selfless dedication as a close-knit team to build up the material and technical basis of communism and achieve a new breakthrough in the development of the productive forces. The Soviet people have splendid prospects of accomplishing such great economic and social tasks as the creation of an abundance of material and cultural benefits, the gradual effacement of the substantial distinctions between town and country, between mental and physical work, the conversion of labour into a source of creativity, and personal happiness for all builders of communism.

Loyalty to Proletarian Internationalism

The Great October Socialist Revolution was inseparably linked with the struggle of the Bolshevik Party for the victory of proletarian internationalism in both the Russian and the international working-class movement. Lenin's theory of socialist revolution is of truly worldwide significance. Born on Russian soil, it nevertheless summed up the experience of the working-class movement in other countries and proceeded from a profound analysis of the main processes and trends of world development in the epoch of imperialism.

During the First World War, when the overwhelming majority of the leaders of the Second International openly took a stand in support of their national bourgeoisie, the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin carried aloft the banner of internationalism. It came forward with a slogan of defeat-

ing its national government, of converting the imperialist war into a civil war. A major component of the preparations for the socialist revolution was the systematic struggle of the Bolsheviks against chauvinism and nationalism, which were among the chief manifestations of bourgeois ideology and were widely used by the exploiter classes to promote their ideology among the masses.

The victory of the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the workers' and peasants' power over the vast territory of the former Russian Empire, the abolition of the exploitive system, the programme of a democratic peace advanced by the young Soviet Republic, the consistent application of the principles of proletarian internationalism to the national minorities, the rallying of all large and small nations inhabiting its territory into an unbreakable union of free and equal nations, not only helped unite the multinational army of Russia's working people under revolutionary banners but also produced a great impact on revolutionary developments throughout the world.

For their part, the working class and progressives in many foreign countries gave substantial assistance to the Soviet people in their struggle. Millions of people throughout the world came out in support of the workers and peasants of revolutionary Russia. The workers taking part in the movement of solidarity with the working people of the young Soviet Republic regarded the Russian revolution as their own cause, and sought to help their Russian comrades by actively opposing international imperialism. The revolutionary actions within the interventionist forces greatly contributed to the rout of the crusade of imperialist powers against the young Soviet Republic.

This was one of the most striking manifestations of the international character of the October Revolution. Lenin said in this context in December 1921:

"Our forecasts and calculations proved to be correct. It turned out that although we did not receive the swift and direct support of the working people of the world that we had counted on, and which we had regarded as the basis of the whole of our policy, we did receive support of another kind, which was not direct or swift—the sympathy

of the workers and peasants, the farm workers... throughout the world, even in the countries most hostile to us, the sympathy that was great enough to be the final and most decisive source, the decisive reason for the complete failure of all the attacks directed against us."¹

After their victory in the Civil War when the Soviet people could start tackling the central task of the October Revolution—the socialist transformation of Russia—the workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic continued to feel the fraternal solidarity of the international proletariat and all the world's progressive forces, who saw in the Soviet Republic the prototype of their future, a reliable ally in the struggle for their economic and political rights.

Later, too, in the conditions of a growing fascist menace, those to whom the future of peace, national freedom, and democracy was dear, increasingly reposed their hopes in the country which was the first in history to have successfully transformed society according to socialist principles.

The international significance of socialist construction in the USSR manifested itself with particular force during the Second World War. Relying on the advantages of the socialist social system, the Soviet people made a decisive contribution to the defeat of the most frenzied force of imperialist reaction—nazism, to the cause of saving the peoples of the world from fascist slavery. Celebrating the joyful 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, the Soviet people revere the memory of those who laid down their lives in the struggle for mankind's radiant future.

The defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism radically improved the political climate in the world and created favourable conditions for the continued development of the world revolutionary movement. Many countries in Europe and Asia took the path of socialist construction. The banner of socialism flies over the Isle of Freedom—Cuba. On our Earth, renovated before our eyes, a mighty world socialist system has taken shape and is increasingly becoming the decisive factor of progress in human society. A powerful national liberation movement of oppressed peoples has arisen in Asia and Africa, and the entire colonial system of imperialism is collapsing under its blows. Some sixty independent

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 33, p. 145.

national states have emerged in Asia and Africa during the post-war period.

By building a communist society the Soviet people are fulfilling their internationalist duty to the world revolutionary movement, creating, as Lenin put it, "the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries".¹

The CPSU Programme says:

"When the Soviet people will enjoy the blessing of communism, new hundreds of millions of people on earth will say: 'We are for communism!'"²

Communist construction in the USSR is a source of inspiration to the fraternal socialist countries and an excellent model for their own struggle. Soviet experience in building a new society enables other nations to avoid unnecessary sacrifices, errors, and costs.

Following that of the Soviet Union the experience of the other socialist countries has demonstrated that all countries which take the socialist path and follow it consistently have definite features and patterns in common. These are, above all, leadership of the masses by the working class with a Marxist-Leninist party as its vanguard; carrying out of a proletarian revolution and establishment of the political power of the working class (dictatorship of the proletariat) in one form or another; alliance of the working class with the main mass of the working peasants and other sections of working people; abolition of capitalist property and establishment of public ownership of the basic means of production; gradual reorganisation of agriculture on socialist lines; planned and balanced development of the national economy aimed at building socialism and communism and raising the living standard of the working people; abolition of ethnic oppression and establishment of relations of equality and fraternal friendship between nations; implementation of a socialist revolution in the field of culture and ideology, making the scientific and cultural heritage of mankind's previous development available to the working people, creation of a numerous intelligentsia loyal to the work-

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 28, p. 292.

² *The Road to Communism*, Moscow, 1962, p. 588.

ing class, all working people, and the cause of socialism; defence of socialist achievements against external and internal enemies; solidarity of the working class of the given country with the working people of other countries, constant concern for the common interests of the world socialist system.

These common features and patterns by no means rule out variations in the ways and forms of conquest of political power by the working class, in the rates of socialisation of the basic means of production and other socialist transformations, in the forms of dictatorship of the proletariat and development of socialist democracy in different countries, depending on the concrete conditions prevailing there. Each Marxist-Leninist party makes its contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism, to the creative development of the great communist teaching. Lenin wrote in his time:

"All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life. There is nothing more primitive from the viewpoint of theory, or more ridiculous from that of practice, than to paint, 'in the name of historical materialism', *this* aspect of the future in a monotonous grey."¹

The example set by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has great appeal to the working class and the masses in the capitalist world. This is what Ville Pessi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Finland, wrote about the significance of this factor:

"On our part we, the Communists of a capitalist country, can say to our brothers in the socialist countries: *Your achievements in building socialism and communism are the most effective aid you can render us.* The working class and the people generally want to know what socialism and communism are. Today we can answer their questions not only by citing Marxist-Leninist precepts, but by pointing to the *prac-*

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70.

tical achievements of socialism and communism. Each of these achievements, each step ahead in industry, agriculture, science, and culture generally, every improvement in the life of the working people of the socialist countries, every stride forward in developing socialist democracy, is an *incontrovertible* argument in favour of socialism and communism."¹

The October Revolution and socialist construction in the USSR have given a powerful impetus to the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This is acknowledged by all progressives in the world. For instance, Sajad Zahir, an Indian writer and public figure, said:

"The great ideal of socialism—liberation of man from exploitation in whatever form—has been embodied in the Soviet socialist state. All peoples in Africa and Asia suffering from the oppression and tyranny of imperialism and colonialism draw support and inspiration from the revolutionary ideas of the October Revolution. What is more, these peoples are witnessing the efflorescence of a new life and culture in the Asian provinces of the former tsarist empire. The Uzbeks, the Tajiks, the Kazakhs, the peoples of the Caucasus, and other peoples are building a happy and free life, national in form and socialist in content. The era of the defeat and disintegration of imperialism has set in. Today, fifty years after the October Revolution, we see that the vast majority of the Asian and African countries have won their freedom."

The ideas of socialism are winning more and more supporters in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. As we know, a number of newly independent states have taken a non-capitalist path. Needless to say, all-round support for these states from the international working class and the world socialist system is of immense importance. The experience of the Soviet republics, particularly those which before the October Revolution were at about the same level of development as the majority of the recently liberated states, has demonstrated that, given the support of the working

¹ *World Marxist Review*, No. 6, 1963, p. 4.

class, their peoples can rapidly and painlessly attain the summits of modern civilisation.

The peoples of the developing countries are all the more receptive to the experience of successful socialist construction as their struggle for complete liberation merges with the anti-imperialist struggle of the USSR and other socialist countries. Any attempt to isolate the national liberation movement from the socialist community of nations and from the international working-class movement can only weaken the embattled peoples and leave them at the mercy of imperialism. Speaking at the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East, Lenin said that the peoples of the East would be unable to throw off the yoke of the imperialist powers without aid from the international working class and that "the international proletariat is the only ally of all the hundreds of millions of the working and exploited peoples of the East".¹

All the revolutionary contingents taking part in the common anti-imperialist struggle—the working people of the socialist countries, the working class in the capitalist countries, the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, feel the appeal of our example and our all-round support.

The Soviet Union's foreign policy, following from the very character of the socialist state, is a thoroughly internationalist policy. Its aims are: to create the most favourable conditions for building communism in the USSR and for successfully completing socialist construction in the fraternal socialist countries; to strengthen the unity, friendship, and brotherhood of the socialist countries; to support the struggle of the peoples exploited by international imperialism for their national and social liberation; to develop all-round co-operation with newly independent states; constantly to develop solidarity with the international working class; to wage a determined struggle for peace and the security of nations.

The Soviet Union has always come out against the imperialist policy of aggression, for implementing the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, for preventing another world

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 30, p. 162.

war. It seeks to establish and maintain relations of equality with all states—large and small, advanced and backward, unswervingly follows the line of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, strictly abiding by principles which rule out standards of internal life being imposed on any nation from without. The CPSU is resolutely opposed to the "export of revolution" to any country. At the same time, we finally and resolutely oppose the imperialist export of counter-revolution.

Lenin taught the Communists that imperialism "must be fought". And one must "know how to fight" it, that the world socialist system "must be helped. And we have to know how to help it."¹ The genuine revolutionary line of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries is not a line of forcibly "pushing" revolution but primarily one of building up the potential of the socialist countries to secure the superiority of socialism to capitalism. Under present conditions this is the most effective aid to the forces of democracy and socialism in the capitalist countries. Socialist and communist construction is a major component of the world revolutionary process. "We are now exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy,"² Lenin said.

In the contemporary world replete with weapons of mass destruction, prevention of a world thermonuclear holocaust is a necessary condition for social progress, a most important prerequisite for the continued development of world civilisation and the solution of its most crucial social, political, and economic problems. This is precisely why the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties regard the struggle for universal peace and for curbing the imperialist aggressors as an urgent practical task.

World war is not inevitable and can be averted by joint efforts of the socialist community of nations, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all nations opposed to war, and all peace forces. But vigorous efforts must be made to translate this possibility into reality and prevent thermonuclear war.

The nature of imperialism has not changed. It constantly creates

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 27, pp. 64–65.

² Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 32, p. 437.

hotbeds of aggression and threatens to unleash a world thermonuclear war of annihilation. The military spending of the imperialist powers has reached monstrous proportions and swallows up the lion's share of their national income, whereas the vital needs of the masses for housing, public health, education, etc., are ignored. The warlike circles in the imperialist countries trigger off or instigate military conflicts in various regions of the world. The US aggression in Vietnam and the imperialist attacks on Arab countries are graphic evidence of this.

In our day the possibility of the expansionist ambitions of the most aggressive and reactionary imperialist circles being satisfied is increasingly limited by powerful forces, primarily those of world socialism opposing imperialism.

We know that during the last decade the reactionary imperialist forces repeatedly pushed the world to the brink of another world war. If the Soviet Union and other socialist countries had not come forward as a major factor of international politics at each of those critical moments, world imperialist reaction might have inflicted severe defeats on the revolutionary movement, held back the advance of the socialist forces and the development of the national liberation, anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples, and plunged mankind into the abyss of thermonuclear war.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU reaffirmed the immutability of the Leninist principles of foreign policy and stressed the Soviet Union's determination to continue firmly to oppose the warlike imperialist forces, their intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, and their policy of instigating military conflicts. The Soviet Union will continue to render all-round assistance to the peoples struggling for their national liberation.

The CPSU has invariably attached prime importance to consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is an indispensable prerequisite for strengthening the world socialist system, for the continued development of the international revolutionary process and for undermining the positions of imperialism. The Party stints no efforts to promote fraternal co-operation between the socialist countries,

to overcome the difficulties arising on this path, strictly abiding at the same time by the immutable standards of mutual relations between the communist parties and the nations of the socialist community which were laid down at the Moscow meetings of representatives of communist and workers' parties.

The widening exchange of experience in socialist and communist construction is of major importance. At one time, many of the difficulties our country had to overcome were caused by lack of the relevant historical experience. Now such experience is available, and this accounts for the interest with which the history of building a new society in the USSR is studied in other socialist countries and elsewhere. On the other hand, much of the experience of other socialist countries is of great interest to the USSR. This exchange of experience is of immense importance, in particular for the current improvement of economic management methods and for quicker application of technological achievements in the conditions of the revolution in science and technology now in progress. This comradely exchange will be continued and steadily intensified. "One nation can and should learn from others,"¹ Karl Marx pointed out. This statement is of special significance to the socialist nations, to the countries of the socialist community.

Experience has proved that the greatest success is achieved precisely by those parties and socialist countries which not only take account of the concrete conditions prevailing on the domestic scene but are also capable of harmonising the national distinctions and national interests with the internationalist tasks of the working class and consistent fulfilment of their internationalist duty. Correct combination of the interests and needs of development of each socialist country with the tasks of widening co-operation and mutual support, with the interests of the general advance of the entire socialist system is the highroad to further cohesion and strengthening of the world socialist community, to the growth of its might and role in the world revolutionary process, in the struggle against imperialism.

The struggle waged by the anti-imperialist forces is seriously obstructed

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1977, p. 20.

by Mao Tse-tung's anti-Leninist policy of petty-bourgeois adventurism and great-power chauvinism. Rather than unite with all anti-imperialist forces, above all with the socialist countries and the communist parties, for struggle against imperialism, Mao Tse-tung and his clique have practically started a struggle against socialism, launched a disgraceful campaign of slander against the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and fraternal communist parties, and are organising subversive actions to split the national liberation, international communist, working-class, and democratic movements.

The CPSU Central Committee emphasises the need to expose resolutely the anti-Leninist views and the great-power, nationalistic policy of China's present leaders. At the same time, the CPSU reaffirms its determination to continue its policy of friendship and internationalist solidarity with the people and the Communist Party of China.

The policy pursued by the Mao Tse-tung clique is indisputably doing grave harm to the socialist cause. However, despite all difficulties the cause of unity of the international communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces, the cause of proletarian internationalism will inevitably triumph. The current situation is characterised by growing co-operation between most of the countries of the world socialist system, a clear-cut tendency towards unity of the communist, working-class, and national liberation movements. The overwhelming majority of the communist and workers' parties insist more and more on unity of action in the interest of the world communist and national liberation movements and in defence of peace. The fact that about seventy fraternal parties have expressed themselves in favour of calling another international meeting of communist and workers' parties is another manifestation of the tendency towards unity.

The present international situation is indisputably complicated and contradictory. The general trend of world development, however, bears out the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the essence of the modern epoch given in the historic documents of the Moscow meetings of representatives of communist and workers' parties in 1957 and 1960. Despite the difficulties and temporary setbacks of the progressive, democratic forces in individual countries, the alignment of forces in the

world arena is changing in favour of peace, democracy, national liberation, and socialism, and to the detriment of imperialism.

The international working class and its main creation—the world socialist system—have always been the leading force in the world revolutionary process.

The community of socialist nations is the main bulwark of all revolutionary forces today. It opposes imperialism and increasingly determines the main trend of the world revolutionary process. Socialism has turned into a material force of worldwide significance. It exerts directly and indirectly a revolutionising influence on the course of world history and lends enormous spiritual and material potentials to all revolutionary forces of the world. All forces of social progress rely on these potentials.

The role and militant spirit of the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries are growing, too. Many communist parties in those countries are winning new bridgeheads in their struggle against monopoly capital. Anti-monopoly sentiments are growing also among the broad working masses. Strikes and other actions of the working class in defence of their economic interests and political rights, against the rule of the monopolies, against the US aggression in Vietnam, and the threat of another world war are becoming increasingly massive and stubborn. The working class is no longer satisfied with partial demands but is pressing for a radical change in the entire economic and social system of capitalism. In the course of the class struggle different contingents of the working class unite and extend their influence to other sections of the masses, while anti-communist prejudices and the conceptions of "class collaboration" which have for years been cultivated by bourgeois propaganda and the right-wing social-reformist leaders are becoming increasingly discredited among the workers supporting the social-democratic and catholic parties. Of late more favourable opportunities have opened up in some countries for widening contacts and for unity of action of Socialists and Communists with a view to a joint struggle against monopoly capital, for democracy and socialism.

The national liberation movement also has scored new important successes during the last few years. This is evidenced by the victory of the Algerian revolution, the consolidation of the democratic forces in a

number of African and Asian countries, and the mounting revolutionary movement in the Latin Americas. The recent escalation of the subversive actions of US imperialism cannot avert the final and complete disintegration of the disgraceful system of colonialism.

The continued consolidation of the three main revolutionary forces of today—the world socialist system, the international working-class movement, and the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America—is the guarantee of their ultimate victory over imperialism, colonialism, and reaction.

On the first day of the October Revolution, Lenin, announcing it to the world, said:

“From now on, a new phase in the history of Russia begins, and this, the third Russian revolution, should in the end lead to the victory of socialism.”¹

Fifty years have passed since then. Summing up the results of world development, we can say without any exaggeration that this has been a splendid and eventful period of the establishment, development, and victories of the socialist forces. Never before has world history developed at such speed, and in none of its periods have the working people made such spectacular achievements as during these years.

Looking back over the road traversed and noting the tremendous progress they have made in the past five decades under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people are inspired with unprecedented unanimity, inexhaustible energy, and enthusiasm for building a communist society and contributing effectively to the world revolutionary process.

The Soviet people, the international working class, and the working people of the world are proud to know that their struggle, their efforts and sacrifices have not been in vain and have yielded generous fruit. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which in October 1917 inspired Russia's workers and peasants to storm the Winter Palace, the main stronghold of the reactionary bourgeoisie, to fight heroically for their liberation from imperialism and for socialism, have now become widespread on

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 26, p. 239.

all continents and in all countries, and are the basis on which the whole world is now being transformed.

The world socialist system—the great achievement of the international working class, the hope and future of all mankind, was born and grew strong under the influence of the ideas of the October Revolution. The past five decades have eloquently testified to the triumphant advance of socialism.

The triumph of the communist ideals is inevitable because it stems from the objective laws of social development.

They will triumph because they meet the vital interests of the vast majority of mankind.

They will triumph because they have become the creed of hundreds of millions of people inspired by the great teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

LENINISM AND THE REVOLUTIONARY REMAKING OF THE WORLD

Article from the journal *Kommunist*, No. 15, 1969

IN THE history of mankind there are memorable dates of world historic significance which are marked by all countries and all peoples. One such date is 22 April, 1970—the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, a brilliant thinker and theoretician of scientific communism, an ardent revolutionary, the great leader of the Soviet people, the international working class, and the working people of the world.

The centenary of Lenin's birth is being celebrated in a situation where his ideas have widely spread throughout the world. Modern history, all great revolutionary events of the twentieth century and the most important of them—the October Revolution, which ushered in a new era in mankind's history, the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism—are inseparably linked with Lenin's name, his ideas and deeds. The gigantic figure of Lenin, who showed the human race the way to a new life, genuine freedom, social justice, peace, and universal prosperity, stands at this turning point in world history.

Lenin's life was not a long one—only 54 years. But it was a heroic life of titanic activities, selfless struggle, a life of utter dedication to the well-being of humanity. He devoted all his vigorous talents and energy to the struggle for a happy life of the working people, for mankind's progress. Lenin's name, his ideas and deeds will live for ever.

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION OF OCTOBER 1917 AND THE PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM

Leninism—the Continuation and Development of Marxism in New Historical Conditions

Lenin's name is closely associated with the names of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the great leaders of the international proletariat. Lenin was the most outstanding champion Marxism has ever had. He was a man of profound and comprehensive education, a staunch and consistent Marxist, a great continuer of the teaching of Marx and Engels. He tirelessly propagated the ideas of scientific socialism. Lenin realised better than anybody else that Marxism gave the working class the knowledge required for the triumph of its righteous cause. "Without knowledge", he wrote, "the workers are defenceless, with knowledge they are a force!"¹ He repeatedly pointed out that Marxism, which had summed up and assimilated all the experience of the international revolutionary movement, gave the working class a clear idea of the aims, tasks, and organisation of its struggle.

After the deaths of Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific communism, the teachers and leaders of the international proletariat, important changes took place in world social development. Capitalism entered its imperialist stage. The problem of mankind's transition to socialism arose in all its magnitude. The revolutionary movement of the international proletariat was enriched with new experience of struggle. All this required a thorough scientific analysis, strictly objective study, and theoretical generalisation. To Lenin fell the formidable task of defending Marxism and further creatively developing it in the new historical conditions—a task of vital importance for the future of mankind.

Lenin revealed in all its aspects the significance of Marxism as the only correct revolutionary theory evolved from the sum total of human knowledge, conforming his conclusions to the development of the objective material world and verifying their validity by socio-historical practice. In his writings and practical activities Lenin continued, developed, and concretised all the components of Marxism—philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism.

Lenin was not an armchair scientist; he developed Marxist theory in

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 92.

the course of class battles fought by the proletariat, regarding it as a guide to revolutionary action, and safeguarding its purity against numerous distortions, falsifications, and misinterpretations. Lenin and the Communist Party he founded had to wage a relentless struggle against their numerous opponents in the revolutionary movement for its Marxist orientation and character. Narodniks, "legal Marxists", Economists, Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, anarchists, Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists, nationalist deviationists, revisionists of every stripe and hue in the international arena—these were but a few of the long list of ideological and political adversaries of revolutionary Marxism against whom Lenin and the Bolshevik Party waged a tense struggle, upholding the principles of the Marxist doctrine. A grave danger was posed by international revisionism, which was operating under the slogan of renovation of the allegedly "outdated" Marxism, seeking in effect to dilute Marxism with an alien class ideology, to emasculate its militant revolutionary spirit. Exposing revisionism, Lenin wrote:

„An ever subtler falsification of Marxism, an ever subtler presentation of anti-imperialist doctrines under the guise of Marxism—this is the characteristic feature of modern revisionism in political economy, in questions of tactics and in philosophy generally, equally in epistemology and in sociology.”¹

In defending Marxist philosophy against revisionism, Lenin further developed the fundamental problems of dialectical and historical materialism. He enriched the materialistic theory of knowledge of Marx and Engels, clearly revealed the great power of the human mind capable of acquiring knowledge of objective truth, demonstrated that the authenticity of knowledge is verified by the sole dependable criterion of socio-historical practice. He described the potentials of the mind, its achievements, and the prospects opening up before it in words full of profound optimism:

„Human reason has discovered many amazing things in nature and will discover still more, and will thereby increase its power over nature.”²

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 14, p. 330.

² Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 14, pp. 281-2.

In his classic work *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Lenin gave a profound philosophical explanation of the latest discoveries in natural science, which had caused a radical revision of a number of long-established principles and concepts in physics. This revision had triggered off the spread of idealistic sentiments and views among some scientists who mistakenly believed that the latest scientific data had disproved materialism. Lenin demonstrated conclusively that the new discoveries in natural science were yet another evidence in favour of materialism and that a necessary condition for the progress of science was the adoption by scientists of dialectical materialism, which alone enables a correct, scientific explanation of the Universe and interpretation of the processes occurring within it. Many progressive natural scientists followed this path.

Lenin, who attached immense importance to the dialectical method, said that materialistic dialectics is the core of Marxism. Revealing the content of dialectics, he showed convincingly that its essence is the law of the unity and conflict of opposites, which provides the clue to understanding the self-development of matter, in the process of which the new comes to replace the old. For this reason Lenin invariably emphasised the critical orientation and revolutionary character of the Marxist dialectical method with its orientation on the future and replacement of the old by the new. Materialistic dialectics proves incontrovertibly the transient character of decrepit capitalist society, which no longer meets mankind's requirements, and the inevitability of its replacement by a new, more advanced social system.

The objective course of social development coincides with the aspirations of the masses and their vanguard, the most revolutionary class, the proletariat, who have an interest in capitalism being replaced with a new, communist system and are called upon to effect this historically necessary change. The principle of partisanship in ideology and politics substantiated and developed by Lenin leads people to adopt deliberately the standpoint of the working class as the most progressive social force, because its revolutionary views and aspirations are the most correct and just.

Guided by the scientific theory of Marx and Engels, Lenin evolved a coherent teaching on imperialism. He advanced and substantiated the

thesis that capitalism in its imperialist stage enters a period of extreme exacerbation of its economic and political contradictions, unleashes imperialist wars, and signifies reaction in every field, a drastic intensification of the exploitation of labour and national oppression.

By a profound analysis of the distinctive features of the new, imperialist stage of capitalism, Lenin proved conclusively that the deep-seated antagonisms and ulcers of imperialism are incurable, that in the imperialist era capitalism is decaying and moribund and puts society on the threshold of socialism. Socio-historical development itself leads up to a proletarian revolution, the need to abolish imperialism and replace it with socialism.

"The epoch of capitalist imperialism", Lenin said, „is one of ripe and rotten-ripe capitalism, which is about to collapse, and which is mature enough to make way for socialism.”¹

Having discovered new development laws of the imperialist era as an era that is "far more precipitous, spasmodic, calamitous, and conflicting" than the pre-monopoly period of capitalism, Lenin concluded that it was possible for socialism to triumph initially in a few countries and even in one country:

„Socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously *in all* countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois.”²

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia fully corroborated Lenin's conclusion, which differed radically from the view, current among Marxists at the time, that a proletarian revolution could be victorious only if it occurred in the majority of industrialised countries simultaneously.

Lenin's theory about the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country was a new and important word in Marxism. It gave the working class to understand that a socialist revolution was not a matter for the distant future, that the working class should boldly overthrow its exploiters and seize the reins of government as soon as the requisite objec-

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 22, p. 109.

² Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 23, p. 79.

tive and subjective conditions for such a take-over arose in a given capitalist country. As we know, such a possibility first appeared and was seized upon in Russia, which was the weakest link in the world capitalist system and where the working class was best prepared to carry out a socialist revolution.

A giant of science, Lenin belongs among those thinkers who see their main task not only in explaining the world but mainly in remaking it. A true leader of the proletariat, Lenin made a profound study of the life and struggle of the social classes, constantly maintained close, inseparable ties with the masses, thoroughly worked out the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle of the proletariat to secure its victory and personally directed revolutionary battles of the workers against capitalism. All of Lenin's works are pervaded with the spirit of Marxism, a teaching which is always living and developing, and which demands loyalty to its principles but is alien to stereotypes and dogmas, and always takes into account the actual historical situation.

While preparing the victory of the working class, Lenin scientifically substantiated the requisite conditions, ways and means of struggle for socialism.

In the struggle against the right and "left" opportunists Lenin vindicated and further developed the revolutionary content of Marxism. He elaborated all aspects of the Marxist theory of socialist revolution.

In developing creatively the ideas of Marx and Engels and analysing the experience of the Communist League and the International Workingmen's Association they had founded, Lenin evolved a comprehensive teaching on the revolutionary party of a new type as the vanguard organisation of the proletariat, the proletariat's main weapon without which the working class would be unable to overthrow the rule of capitalism, acquire political power, and build socialism. Not only did he evolve the teaching on the revolutionary party of the working class, he also organised and raised such a party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation", Lenin emphasised.¹ Only excellent organisation of the

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 7, p. 415.

working class turns it into a force none of its class enemies can hold out against. The working class must necessarily have its own political party uniting and organising the workers and guiding them in their struggle. Lenin founded the Party, and worked out its organisational, ideological, tactical, and theoretical principles.

It was with inexhaustible energy during many years of struggle against the "legal Marxists", the Economists, the Mensheviks, and other worshippers of spontaneity and followers on the tail of events who sought to subordinate the working-class movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie that Lenin formed and strengthened the party of a new type—the Bolshevik Party, which embodied all the cardinal Marxist principles concerning the role of the party as the conscious vanguard of the working class, its political leader equipped with advanced theory, knowledge of the laws of social development and the class struggle.

Lenin taught that in order to perform its mobilising and guiding role successfully, a working-class party must be guided in its activities by Marxist, revolutionary theory. Marxist theory gives the Communists a scientific programme of struggle for the economic, political, and social transformation of society by revolutionary methods.

The Party can perform its role if it is closely linked with the working-class movement, expresses and consistently upholds the vital interests of the proletariat. On the other hand, the struggle of the workers will not be successful "until this struggle is led by a strong organisation of revolutionaries".¹ Lenin regarded the combination of scientific socialism with the revolutionary working-class movement as the chief merit of the party of a new type, which made it fundamentally different from all earlier political organisations of the working class. The closest link between theory and practice, between most progressive ideas and revolutionary action, is an inherent feature of a truly Marxist-Leninist party.

The founder and leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the great Lenin—educated the Party in the spirit of allegiance to the working-class cause and intransigence towards its class enemies; he forged its iron will and determination to achieve victory, he taught it to brave all

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 475.

hardships, to advance boldly towards its goal, to lead, unite, inspire, and organise the working masses.

Lenin attached prime importance to the unity of the Party and taught it to safeguard this unity at all costs, to observe strict discipline, equally binding on all Party members, both leaders and rank-and-file, to fight mercilessly against panic-mongers, capitulationists, and opportunists violating the Party's general line and demoralising its ranks. Lenin demanded that Communists should not plume themselves on their successes nor be lulled into complacency and smugness, that they should resolutely criticise and eliminate any mistakes they had committed. Lenin also regarded it as a matter of first priority for the Party as a whole and each of its members to maintain close links with the people, value their trust, and know well their vital interests. Communists, Lenin said, are but a small drop in an ocean of people. They can guide the masses only when they correctly express what the people are aware of.

The core of the Leninist organisational principles of the party of a new type is the principle of democratic centralism in which democracy and centralism are inseparable aspects of a single whole.

Democratic centralism is the unity of the Party's ideological, tactical, and organisational principles embodied in its Programme and Rules, which are binding on every Communist and every Party organisation. The Party has one supreme body—the Party Congress, and the Central Committee in the interim periods. The Party pursues all its activities according to the principle of unconditional subordination of the minority to the majority, of the lower to the higher bodies. "After the competent bodies have decided," Lenin pointed out, "all of us, as members of the Party, must act as one man."¹

The Party, its congresses, and the Central Committee define the common orientation and policy of the whole organisation, while encouraging and promoting in every way the inventiveness, activity, and initiative of Communists and all Party organisations in working out and implementing the Party decisions and adapting its policy to the various specific local conditions. Lenin pointed out in this connection that centralism

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 11, p. 323.

interpreted in a truly democratic sense affords "the possibility . . . of a full and unhampered development not only of specific local features, but also of local inventiveness, local initiative, of diverse ways, methods and means of progress to the common goal".¹

Democracy means the electivity, accountability, and removability of all governing Party bodies from top to bottom, collective Party leadership, initiative and active participation of all Communists in Party affairs, broad development of criticism and self-criticism. The Party attaches immense importance to strict observance and consistent development of intra-Party democracy. It deems it necessary constantly to give respectful attention to the opinions and suggestions of its members. The development of intra-Party democracy implies in turn an all-out effort to strengthen discipline within the Party, to enhance the responsibility of Communists for the state of affairs in their organisations and in the Party as a whole.

The principle of democratic centralism enables the Party to intensify the activity of all its members, to merge their powerful energy into a common will, and direct it to the revolutionary transformation of society. It is not fortuitous that the enemies of the Communist Party invariably attack the principle of democratic centralism—the fundamental tenet of Lenin's teaching on the party of a new type.

All of Lenin's principles have become part and parcel of the platform of the CPSU and constitute the foundation of its unity and strength. The CPSU has become what it is today—a powerful and united party linked with the masses by deep-rooted innumerable ties, the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, the inspirer and organiser of the Soviet people in their struggle for communism—because it has unswervingly followed Lenin's teaching and sacredly abides by the principles of work organisation and the standards of Party life laid down by Lenin.

The Communist Party enjoys infinite prestige among the Soviet people who see in its activities and policy an expression of their vital interests and therefore actively support all its measures. The political leader and militant vanguard of the Soviet people, the CPSU has always been and

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 27, p. 208.

is, above all, a party of the working class as the most progressive class in Soviet society. The CPSU has a membership of about 14 million, of which the workers account for almost 40 per cent and the collective farmers for 15.6 per cent. Many Communists are front-rank members of the production and technical intelligentsia, scientists, workers in culture, and the arts.

The development by Lenin of Marxist teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat is of tremendous importance to the international revolutionary movement. Pointing out that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the pivotal question of socialist revolution and Marxism, Lenin paid great attention in his works to elaborating the most essential aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its social nature, the conditions required for its establishment, its major functions and forms, its role and significance. He gave a determined rebuff to the opportunists opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat and proved its historical necessity as an instrument for building a society free from exploitation of man by man, i.e. socialism. He said that mankind would not arrive at socialism otherwise than through the dictatorship of the proletariat. To bourgeois democracy, which expresses the interests of the exploiter minority, Lenin opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat as a fundamentally new, higher type of democracy guaranteeing the broadest involvement of the working people in the management of the affairs of society and the state and expressing the interests of the vast majority of the people.

Lenin's greatest contribution to the creative development of the Marxist teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat was the discovery of Soviets as a new type of state. Lenin revealed the historic significance of the Soviet Republic as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat immeasurably more democratic than any bourgeois-parliamentary republic.

Lenin drew this conclusion from an analysis of the initiative of the masses which first spontaneously established Soviets of Workers' Deputies during the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905–7 in Russia. The Soviets were the fruit of the historical creativity of the people. Lenin discerned in them the prototype of the socialist state of the working people.

Describing the Soviets as a new, higher type of democracy, Lenin wrote:

"It was an authority open to all, it carried out all its functions before the eyes of the masses, was accessible to the masses, sprang directly from the masses; and was a direct and immediate instrument of the popular masses, of their will."¹

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the emergence of the Soviet socialist state on one-sixth of the earth were a triumph of the ideas of Leninism. Lenin was the genius, organiser, and leader of the October Revolution, the founder and leader of the world's first workers' and peasants' state.

Lenin showed the epoch-making international significance of the October Socialist Revolution. He described it as a turning point and a new chapter in world history, which "has charted the road to socialism for the whole world and has shown the bourgeoisie that their triumph is coming to an end."² Lenin repeatedly emphasised the immense significance of the Soviet state for the working people in all countries. He said in particular: "Our socialist Republic of Soviets will stand secure, as a torch of international socialism and as an example to all the working people."³ Characterising the international significance of the October Revolution and Soviet power, he wrote: "Experience has proved that, on certain very important questions of the proletarian revolution, *all* countries will inevitably have to do what Russia has done."⁴ He noted at the same time that other countries would contribute much that was new, distinctive, and creative in the forms and ways of implementing a socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat while abiding by their basic principles. Subsequent proletarian revolutions and socialist construction in a number of countries have fully borne out Lenin's teaching.

Guided by the ideas of Marx and Engels and summing up the practical experience of the Soviet state, Lenin concretely outlined the two phases of

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 31, p. 352.

² Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 28, p. 44.

³ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 26, p. 472.

⁴ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 31, p. 31.

communist society, the construction of socialism, and its development into full-scale communism. Under Lenin's guidance a concrete programme of socialist construction was drawn up in the Soviet Union. Not only did Lenin indicate the ways and means of building socialism, he also discerned the social forces capable of accomplishing this task of world historic importance. He taught that socialism is the fruit of the creative endeavour of the masses. The working people themselves can build a new life, and, relying on their own experience, solve the problems of socialist organisation of society, however complicated they may be.

The theory of scientific communism evolved by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin is being enriched with the practical experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the fraternal communist and workers' parties. This theory has been embodied in the world socialist system. It is the scientific basis for the gigantic socialist transformations being carried out in the countries of this system, and is an inspiring stimulus in the struggle of the international working class and the liberation movement of all the peoples who see their future in socialism.

The Leninist Policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

The Great October Socialist Revolution placed before the Soviet people the practical task of building a socialist society, a task without precedent in history and which so far had only been the subject of theory. Lenin and the Communist Party led the Soviet people to socialism by paths hitherto unexplored. "The new task before us has never been tackled anywhere else before", Lenin wrote.¹ But he taught that however complicated the task might be, it was nevertheless feasible. The Soviet Republic had everything required to build a mature socialist society. "Our natural wealth, our manpower and the splendid impetus which the great revolution has given to the creative powers of the people are ample material. . ."²

Under the guidance of the Communist Party led by Lenin the proletarian revolution resolutely cleared the way to socialism of the historical debris accumulated under the exploiter system over the centuries. All

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 32, p. 379.

² Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 27, p. 161.

the numerous attempts of the Russian and world bourgeoisie to regain their domination and restore the old order were heroically repulsed by the people liberated by the revolution. The Soviet Republic staunchly endured formidable hardships, bore all trials with honour, emerged victorious from the Civil War, and defeated the interventionist invasion forces of fourteen capitalist states.

The October Socialist Revolution was visible proof that when a people is led by a truly revolutionary Marxist party capable of instilling in the masses confidence in their strength, organising and uniting them, the revolutionary energy of the masses and the gigantic forces of the people can break down and sweep away any obstacles on the path to freedom, democracy, and socialism.

Lenin regarded active involvement of the mass of the working people in socialist construction as the most indispensable prerequisite for the triumph of socialism. The profoundly democratic essence of socialism is expressed in the fact that the working people themselves build a new life. Lenin called on the Party to mobilise the entire multimillion Soviet people to a great constructive effort, to rouse the lowest social strata to historical creativity. "Victory will belong only to those who have faith in the people, those who are immersed in the life-giving spring of popular creativity", he said.¹

The provision of the broadest opportunities for the activities of the masses—the true makers of history—is one of the fundamental characteristics of the Soviet social system. Working people, who are obscure, unimportant, and often redundant under capitalism, are building a new life in the Soviet Union with their own hands, erecting the edifice of communism, bringing forth from their midst thousands upon thousands of new heroes, front-rank workers in industry and agriculture, science, technology, culture, and the arts.

After the victory of the October Revolution Lenin continued developing all aspects of the teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Socialism cannot be built without it. The bourgeoisie has but one dream—to win back its lost positions. Only a workers' and peasants'

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 26, p. 292.

state can neutralise its constant efforts to this end, break the resistance of the exploiters, and organise the construction of a new, socialist life. Lenin emphasised that the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry is the supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He passionately urged the Party, the workers, and the working peasants to strengthen this alliance under the leadership of the working class.

"The new society, which will be based on the alliance of the workers and peasants, is inevitable [Lenin said]. . . . We are helping to work out for this society the forms of alliance between the workers and peasants. We shall get this done and we shall create an alliance of the workers and peasants that is so sound that no power on earth will break it."¹

Lenin again and again pointed out the enormous importance for the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction of a close-knit Communist Party strong by its unity, revolutionary theory, and indissoluble links with the people—a party whose role after the conquest of power by the working class, far from diminishing, is, on the contrary, enhanced.

It is not accidental that the bourgeoisie and its agents fear the revolutionary party of the working class. The enemies of the Soviet people have always frantically fought the Communist Party, realising that their success in undermining it would inevitably weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. For this purpose, the counter-revolutionaries even advanced the slogan "Soviets without Communists". The Trotskyites, the followers of Zinoviev and Bukharin, the bourgeois nationalists, and other anti-Leninist groups spared no efforts to disrupt the Communist Party, planting within its ranks factions which engaged in subversive, splitting activities, seeking to alienate the trade unions, the Young Communist League, and other mass organisations from the Party.

All attacks on the Party, however, were foiled. The Communist Party pursued its activities on the principles laid down by Lenin, strengthening its unity and cohesion, observing strict and at the same time conscious discipline in its ranks, resolutely purging itself of opportunists and rene-

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 33, p. 177.

gades, promoting in every way the activity of its members and placing the interests of the working people in the forefront always and in everything.

It was with utmost clarity and depth of insight that Lenin outlined the tasks facing the Soviet people in socialist construction. He indicated that socialism can triumph only on the basis of modern advanced technology and a powerful socialist industry. To industrialise the country and build the economic foundation of a new society was the key task in socialist construction. "A large-scale machine industry capable of reorganising agriculture is the only material basis that is possible for socialism", Lenin said.¹ The capitalist encirclement, the threat of a war of the bourgeois states against the USSR dictated the need for accelerated rates of industrialisation, maximum efforts on the part of the young Soviet Republic. "We are economising in all things, even in schools", Lenin said at the time.² The great labour exploits of the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party in the period of carrying out Lenin's GOELRO nationwide electrification programme and the early five-year economic development plans transformed the Soviet Union into a mighty industrial power.

With the same energy the Communist Party of the Soviet Union strove to implement Lenin's brilliant plan of winning over the peasantry to socialism by means of co-operatives. Lenin viewed the reorganisation of agriculture on socialist lines as a highly important task answering the vital interests of both the working class and the working peasants. He emphasised that "small-scale farming will not bring deliverance from want".³ Only the transfer of small, fragmented peasant farmsteads to new, socialist lines made it possible to free the working peasants from their dependence on the kulaks, to pull out the economic roots of capitalism in the countryside, thereby solving one of the key problems of the socialist revolution.

Some opponents of socialism maintain that Marx and Engels never concerned themselves with the peasant question, which was allegedly

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 32, p. 459.

² Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 33, p. 426.

³ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 30, p. 148.

important for Russia alone. This is not true. The founders of scientific communism attached immense importance to this problem. Engels wrote, for instance:

"Our task relative to the small peasant consists, in the first place, in effecting a transition of his private enterprise and private possession to co-operative ones, not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of social assistance for this purpose."¹

Proceeding from the ideas of Marx and Engels, Lenin and the Party worked out all aspects of the peasant question and placed it on a theoretical foundation, indicating the way to its solution through socialist co-operation of farmers in the conditions of working-class dictatorship. Lenin underscored that only an alliance with the working class would show the peasants the way out of their plight under capitalism, only socialist co-operation of small producers would guarantee a solid economic foundation of socialism in the countryside.

The soundness of the Leninist policy in all its aspects has been fully borne out by history. The Soviet Union's transformation into a mighty industrial power provided the firm material basis for its economic independence, for the technological reconstruction of all sectors of the national economy, consolidated the triumph of socialist relations in industry and greatly enhanced its defence capability. The implementation of Lenin's co-operation programme resulted in the establishment in the Soviet Union of socialist agriculture on the world's largest scale and consolidated the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. The last exploiter class of the kulaks was abolished through the complete collectivisation of agriculture.

Along with the solution of the key political and economic problems a cultural revolution was carried out, and a new, genuinely popular educational system was established in the USSR. Lenin made a profound analysis of the question of cultural advancement of Soviet nations. He said that the Party should achieve a situation in which "learning shall

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1976, p. 470.

really become part of our very being, that it shall actually and fully become a constituent element of our social life".¹

The broad working masses were given access to the wealth of culture accumulated by mankind. The cultural revolution made it possible to raise a numerous intelligentsia from the midst of the people and to train competent specialists for all sectors of the national economy, without which the spectacular progress of Soviet science and culture and the assertion of socialist ideology would have been inconceivable.

Following the course charted by Lenin the Party led the country to the full and final victory of socialism. This majestic achievement demonstrated in practice the historic mission of the working class and was a triumph of Marxism-Leninism. Socialism demonstrated its advantages over capitalism in every field: by instituting public ownership of the means of production and delivering the workers and peasants from exploitation it created the conditions required for a steady rise in the living and cultural standards of the whole people, established the social and national equality of citizens, guaranteed genuine freedom and democracy, and opened broad opportunities for individuals to develop their talents and abilities. The main principle of socialism "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work", which is still a cherished dream for many peoples of the world, has been implemented in the Soviet Union for the first time in world history.

The unity of the multinational Soviet people, the fraternal friendship and co-operation of the workers, the collective farmers, the intelligentsia, and the working people of all nationalities are the greatest achievement of socialism and the source of its might. The unbreakable fraternity of Soviet nations, the economic and cultural progress of the socialist republics of the USSR are conclusive evidence of the correctness of Lenin's teaching and the Party policy in the solution of the problem of national minorities, a triumph of the ideas of proletarian internationalism.

The strength and vitality of socialism were put to a gruelling test during the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany. As we know, in that mortal combat the Soviet people not only defended the

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 33, p. 489.

honour and independence of their homeland but also saved world civilisation from the Nazi plague by routing the Nazi hordes.

The implementation of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on socialist construction has opened before the Soviet people the prospect of gradual transition to communism. Lenin always regarded the construction of socialism and communism as two inseparable aspects of a single task facing the Party and the Soviet people. "In striving for socialism", he pointed out, "we are convinced that it will develop into communism."¹ In drawing up the concrete programme of building communism the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was guided by Lenin's instructions and behests. "The future society we are striving for," Lenin said of communism, "the society in which all must work, the society in which there will be no class distinctions, will take a long time to build."²

In socialist society the economy inevitably becomes the main sphere of struggle for full communism. Therefore the Programme of the CPSU and the decisions of the 23rd Party Congress, outlining the main tasks of the Soviet people in building a communist society, defined the creation of the material and technical basis of communism as the central economic target of the Party and people. This guarantees a steady rise in the living and cultural standards of the working people, the perfection of socialist social relations and their gradual transformation into communist relations, and the further development of socialist democracy.

The high growth rates of the socialist economy attest to the advantages of the Soviet social system. In the USSR the annual average rate of increment in industrial output between 1951 and 1967 was 10.5 per cent as against 4.5 per cent in the USA, 2.8 per cent in Britain, and 5.5 per cent in France. Retaining their lead in growth rates, the socialist countries attained in 1968 a volume of industrial output which was nearly 11 times that before the war, whereas in the capitalist countries the increase was only fourfold. We are witnessing the fulfilment of Lenin's prediction: "I am convinced that the Soviets will overtake and outstrip the capitalists and that our gain will not be a purely economic one."³

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 25, p. 461.

² Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 29, p. 324.

³ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 31, p. 458.

In 1968 the Soviet Union's industrial output was 79 times that of 1913. In 1968 our country produced 107 million tons of steel, 639,000 million kilowatt hours of electricity, and 309 million tons of crude oil. The electrified railway mileage in the USSR is greater than that of the USA, Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Japan combined. Lenin's slogan "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country" is materialising as a striking reality today.

The Party gives unflinching attention to advancing agriculture to a high level at which it can fully meet the demands of the population for foodstuffs and of industry for raw materials. As a result, in the period 1966-8 there was a 19 per cent increase in the annual average gross agricultural output as compared with 1961-5. The gross grain harvest in 1968 was 10,300 million poods*, which was 30 per cent more than the annual average grain production in the period 1961-5.

The modern period in the life of Soviet society is keynoted by the building up of the material and technical basis of communism in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution now in progress, and the implementation of sweeping measures to improve the scientific management of economic, socio-political, and cultural affairs under the guidance of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. Rapid economic growth is increasingly dependent on higher investment efficiency and better use of available production assets, greater labour productivity, and improved quality of produce. Science is playing a growing role in production.

The high level of the Soviet economy makes it possible now, while preserving the priority rates of growth of key industries, to accelerate considerably the development of industries and services directly supplying the working people's material and cultural requirements. The successful fulfilment of Soviet plans is strikingly illustrated by the fact that the rates of economic growth in terms of national income, industrial output, the turnover of retail trade, the real income of the population, and the average earnings of factory and office workers and remuneration of collective farmers in the years of the current five-year plan were higher

* Pood (Russ.): about 36 lb. avoirdupois (Tr.)

than the annual average rates envisaged in the Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

The Party gives keen attention to improving planning and economic stimulation in the national economy. It is guided by Lenin's most important instructions concerning the principles of management of the socialist economy. He said that the planned and balanced development and centralised nationwide regulation of the economy are a cardinal advantage of socialism. "All should work according to a single common plan, on common land, in common factories and in accordance with a common system."¹ The economic reform now being implemented was drawn up with a view to more effective application of the laws of socialist economy, the advantages of the Soviet system, and the vast experience accumulated by the Party in guiding the development of society.

In the Soviet Union today there is an increased possibility and necessity of broad initiative of the masses at local levels, of enhancing their activity in production management so as to take advantage of all latent reserves at every enterprise. Under present conditions a new content is assumed by Lenin's instruction on implementing, side by side with improvement of government planning, "extension of enterprise and initiative by each large establishment in the disposal of financial and material resources".²

The development of Soviet society again and again corroborates Lenin's idea of the need to rely on economic and moral incentives in building communism. The economic methods of management perfected in the process of implementing the economic reform consist in more effective utilisation of the advantages of socialism, of the community and the particularities of the economic interests of working people, collectives of enterprises, and society as a whole. Planned and active use of commodity-money relations, the profit motive, prices, credit, and cost accounting are called upon to play a great role in all economic work. Under the socialist economic system these categories fundamentally differ in content from those under capitalism: they are not tools of ex-

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 31, p. 292.

² Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 32, p. 434.

ploitation of labour, which is non-existent under socialism, but serve as economic levers for economic advancement in the interests of the people as a whole.

For the Communist Party the interests of the working people are a matter of paramount concern. It is guided by Lenin's instructions emphasising that "only socialism can meet their interests".¹ Under socialism the immediate and primary object of production is to meet as fully as possible the steadily growing material and cultural requirements of the people and ensure the all-round development of the individual. This is precisely the goal pursued by socialist production in the USSR.

Between 1913 and 1968 the real income per working person increased more than 7 times in the case of industrial and construction workers and 11 times in the case of working peasants. The increase in the remuneration of collective farmers has been especially rapid during the last few years. Every year the Soviet population receives a steadily growing sum in payments and other benefits from the social consumption funds, which added up to 55,000 million roubles in 1968. These funds are used for free education and medical services, longer paid holidays, pensions, allowances, scholarships, wider sanatorium and health resort accommodation on easy terms, and large-scale housing construction. About 11 million Soviet citizens move into new apartments every year.

The Soviet Union is now in the vanguard of world culture and science. In 1968 the number of research workers in the USSR was in excess of 800,000 or one-fourth of the world's total. The Soviet Union built the world's first atomic power plant, jet airliner and intercontinental ballistic missile, and launched the first artificial earth satellite. The first space flight was made by a Soviet cosmonaut.

All this is evidence of our great success in strengthening socialism and building communism. But it does not mean that we have solved all our problems. New problems are constantly posed by new developments.

The CPSU is fully aware that to build communism is an incredibly difficult and responsible task, and we followers of Lenin are not given to

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 26, p. 333.

boasting and self-conceit. Our country is facing tasks of gigantic proportions. What the Soviet people have already achieved, however, is of world historic importance.

An amazing renovation of all aspects of life is taking place in the Soviet land inspired by the ideas of the great Lenin.

The International Character of Leninism

Lenin is the pride of all mankind. In his person history gave the working people of the world a genius who expressed their cherished dreams and hopes, a wise leader who did an immense lot for a happy life of the working people of all continents.

As a truly proletarian revolutionary Lenin had heartfelt sympathy for the revolutionary struggle of the workers in all countries, and watched the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries with a keen interest and understanding. All his life was marked by a strong determination to see capitalist slavery abolished throughout the world. Lenin made a gigantic contribution to working out the scientific principles of the programme, organisation, strategy, and tactics of the international communist movement, took a direct part in strengthening fraternal communist parties, shared with them the vast experience gained by the Bolshevik Party, and called on the Communists of all countries to promote international unity of the revolutionary working-class movement in every possible way, to widen steadily their ties with the masses so as to become the genuine vanguard of all revolutionary forces.

Opponents of Leninism seek to depict it as a specifically "Russian" phenomenon and deny its international significance. Some of them say that the path of the October Revolution is suited only to economically underdeveloped countries, that Leninism is a specific interpretation of Marxism applicable to the conditions of backwardness. Others allege that the path of socialist development in the USSR is an exclusively "European" phenomenon, and that therefore Leninism is not suited to the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

These interpretations of Leninism are basically wrong. Leninism is

neither an exclusively "Russian" nor a specifically "European" phenomenon. Having arisen as a continuation of Marxism in that historical period when capitalism entered its last, imperialist stage, Leninism expressed the objective requirements of world social development.

The international character of Leninism is determined by the following main circumstances.

First, for a number of historical reasons Russia at the turn of the century became the solar plexus of all the main contradictions of the world imperialist system, and the October Revolution the take-off point and the catalyst of the contemporary world revolutionary process. The principal laws of this process increasingly came into play in the steadily mounting tides of the three Russian revolutions, which were the greatest historical events of the early twentieth century. These revolutions, particularly the Great October Socialist Revolution, which reverberated throughout the world, were of international significance. They imparted a powerful momentum to the revolutionary movement in all countries.

Secondly, the international character of Leninism is determined by the diversity of the experience of the October Revolution itself, as well as the experience in socialist construction in the USSR which followed its triumph. On the eve of the revolution there were in fact several socio-economic structures in Russia. There were large centres of capitalist industry with a fully formed working class, a semi-feudal system of landlordism in the rural areas, a colonial or semi-colonial regime in Central Asia, and almost primeval backwardness in the far north—structures and living conditions to be found in a variety of countries. Multistructural and multinational pre-revolutionary Russia epitomised the conditions in many countries on different continents. Leninism reflected the vast experience of the Bolshevik Party, which in different periods of its struggle had to cope with problems arising in both economically advanced and backward areas, in industrial, working-class centres, and in impoverished, squalid rural areas, in regions of high culture, and in vast regions of illiteracy and cultural backwardness.

Thirdly, by virtue of Russia's borderline position between the industrialised capitalist countries of the west and the colonial, semi-colonial,

and dependent countries of the East, the working-class movement there inevitably linked up with the West European revolutionary working-class movement, on the one hand, and the national liberation movement in the colonial countries, on the other. Leninism emerged and developed as the summation of the experience of not only Russia's but the world's working class, as well as the national liberation, anti-colonial movements. Lenin, who had to live in exile for years in Switzerland, France, Britain, Germany, Poland, and other countries, maintained close ties with the socialist circles of Western Europe and was actively involved in the international socialist movement. He carefully followed the anti-colonial struggle of the peoples of the East. Lenin summed up the experience, forms, and methods of the revolutionary movement and the national liberation struggle in all countries.

Fourthly, Leninism did not appear out of thin air but developed on the solid basis of Marxism as its continuation. It summed up the latest achievements of world science and culture. Every cardinal problem of the theory and tactics of the international revolutionary movement raised by Marx and Engels was elaborated by Lenin who developed and enriched Marxism, relying on the fundamental principles of their teaching.

Leninism is Marxism of the modern historical epoch. It has legitimately become the ideological and theoretical basis of the contemporary international communist movement.

Lenin's contribution to the development of the world working-class and the whole of the revolutionary liberation movement is enormous. He pointed, in particular, to the necessity to strengthen the international unity of the revolutionary forces.

Lenin proved that this necessity was dictated by the change in the historical situation, the development of capitalism into its imperialist stage, when the time was ripe for proletarian revolutions. When the Second International discredited itself and its disintegration became obvious, Lenin took direct steps to consolidate the revolutionary wing in the international working-class movement, gradually forging the internationalist core from which the Communist International later grew.

The great Lenin exerted a decisive influence on the development of the ideological and theoretical platform of the Comintern and the cardinal

problems of strategy and tactics of the world communist movement and its organisational principles.

Lenin was tireless in his work to unite the world working class and the communist movement in matters of principle. The policy of a united working-class front he worked out was adopted by the international communist movement. The essence of Lenin's idea of a united working-class front was to achieve unity of action of the workers in the struggle for their immediate vital interests, to draw into this struggle the different contingents of the working-class, including those under the influence of reformism, and thus to raise the general level of the working-class movement, to lead it gradually to take up revolutionary positions on the basis of its own experience.

Lenin helped young communist parties to understand correctly the slogan of a united working-class front, warning them against both left sectarian and right opportunist mistakes in implementing it. He taught Communists to combine loyalty to principles with flexibility in politics. When the menace of fascism first loomed in the distance, Lenin called the attention of Communists to the need for linking the united front policy more closely to the tasks of anti-fascist and anti-war struggle in defence of peace, democratic rights, and freedoms.

Lenin's research into the national colonial problem was another of his truly historic contributions. By a thorough analysis of the imperialist stage of capitalism he brought to light the irreconcilable contradiction between the imperialist countries, on the one hand, and hundreds of millions of people in the colonial and dependent countries, on the other, demonstrating that imperialism doomed them to the most ruthless exploitation and brutal oppression. Lenin viewed the struggle against imperialism as the only way of liberating the oppressed peoples of the colonies from its yoke, and this liberation was closely linked with the general struggle of the international proletariat to overthrow capitalism. At the same time, he explained theoretically the great role of the national liberation movement in the world revolutionary process.

"The socialist revolution [he said] will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against

their bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism."¹

From this followed Lenin's conclusions on all-round support by the international proletariat for the national liberation movement of the oppressed and dependent peoples, and on the need for joint actions by these revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism. This was a fundamentally new contribution by Lenin to the Marxist theory of revolution. Lenin's strategy in the struggle for unity and co-operation between all the main currents involved in the world revolutionary process is of inestimable and permanent significance for the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionary forces against imperialism.

The reality of our time constantly yields new evidence of the great vitality and fruitfulness of Lenin's immortal teaching. Lenin enriched, developed, and advanced Marxist theory so much that today one cannot be a true Marxist without adopting Lenin's views and assimilating all that he contributed to the treasure-store of scientific communism. Therefore modern Marxism is rightly called Marxism-Leninism. It is an integral coherent and internationalist world outlook.

In the present epoch, to be a true, consistent Marxist, one should be guided by Lenin's methodology of analysing social processes, prove one's loyalty to Leninism by deeds rather than by words, and be as intransigent to class enemies as Lenin was. Leninism requires a genuine scientific approach to all life phenomena, an organic unity of theory and practice, an offensive struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology hostile to scientific socialism.

Referring to the paramount importance of the effective use by the revolutionary proletariat and its organisations of all forms of the class struggle, Engels wrote:

"Since a workers' movement has existed, the struggle is being conducted pursuant to its three sides—the theoretical, the political, and the practical-economic . . . in harmony and in its interconnections, and in a systematic way."

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.* Vol. 30, p. 159.

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Seconding this view, Lenin pointed out that scientific communism recognises

"not two forms of the great struggle of Social-Democracy (political and economic), as is the fashion among us, but three, placing the theoretical struggle on a par with the first two".¹

Leninism proceeds from the need to wage a consistent struggle for the integrity and creative development of the revolutionary teaching of the working class. Lenin's entire life was a vivid illustration of this. He resolutely rebuffed all attacks against revolutionary Marxism from opportunists and nationalists of every stripe. Lenin called on the international communist movement never to forget that in certain periods "the zigzags of bourgeois tactics intensify revisionism within the labour movement".² At the same time, Lenin warned against petty-bourgeois "left" adventurism and sectarianism, a trend "which is very revolutionary in words, but not in the least revolutionary as far as its real views ... are concerned".³

In the hands of the communist and workers' parties Lenin's ideological legacy is a time-tested weapon in their struggle against the bourgeoisie and all varieties of opportunism. We know that in persecuting Communists the imperialists do all they can to undermine the working-class parties ideologically, staking on nationalism and chauvinism, right-wing opportunism and adventurist "left" revisionism, seeking to sow discord among the communist parties, to weaken the socialist countries and set them at loggerheads. The imperialists do not scruple to use the foulest means in their efforts to achieve these objectives. They conduct unbridled anti-socialist propaganda, heaping lies and slander on the policy of the USSR and other socialist countries, trying to denigrate the noble goals of the struggle waged by the Communists.

The communist parties oppose to the insidious strategy of imperialism and ideological subversion their allegiance to proletarian internationalism and a determined struggle against imperialism and its agents.

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, pp. 372, 370.

² Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 16, p. 351.

³ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 228.

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Leninism, the great internationalist teaching of the working class and all working people, is a potent ideological weapon for fighting bourgeois ideology, revisionism, and nationalism. Leninism is the banner of the modern epoch, a powerful tool for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

Lenin's Ideas Conquer the World

The working masses in all countries are increasingly coming to realise the great truth of Lenin's teaching. They see in Leninism a science which answers the problems posed by modern social development and are becoming aware that only on the path charted by Lenin is it possible to free the working people from the yoke of capital and mankind from war and imperialist oppression and to build a new life. Lenin made a profound and detailed study of all the important problems agitating modern society: the direction in which imperialism is developing, the class struggles in the capitalist countries, the problems of socialist revolution and the winning of state power by the working class, the national liberation movement, the problems of war and peace and peaceful co-existence of states of opposite social systems, relations between socialist and capitalist states, and the development paths of socialism and communism. Lenin's teaching is a dependable ideological guide for all revolutionary forces called upon to renovate the world on communist principles.

This has been fully corroborated by world developments during the last few decades.

The deep-going revolutionary transformations in the past half-century have radically changed the social image of the world. Suffice it to take a look at its political map (Table 1).

The facts show that capitalism has irretrievably lost its decisive role in world politics. The epoch of its unchallenged rule has been replaced by the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

In vast areas of the world exploitation of man by man has been extirpated for ever. Many peoples have cast off the fetters of imperialist bondage. The ideas of socialism have won over the minds of the multi-million masses and become a powerful material force.

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TABLE 1. *The World in 1919 and at the beginning of 1969*

	1919				Beginning of 1969			
	Area		Population		Area		Population (estimated)	
	Million km ²	% of total	Millions	% of total	Million km ²	% of total	Millions	% of total
1. The world	135.8	100	1,777	100	135.8	100	3,520	100
(a) Socialist countries	21.7	16.0	138.0	7.8	35.2	25.9	1,210	34.4
(b) All other countries	114.1	84.0	1,639.0	92.2	100.6	74.1	2,310	65.6
2. Big imperialist powers ^(a) and their colonies	60.3	44.4	855.0	48.1	12.3	9.0	539.2	15.3
3. All colonies and semicolonies	97.8	72.0	1,235.0	69.4	5.0	3.7	36.3	1.0
4. Former colonial, semicolonial countries which won independence after 1919 (excluding socialist states)	—	—	—	—	79.1	58.2	1,616	45.9

^(a) The USA, Britain, France, the FRG (Germany in 1919), Japan, and Italy.

The world revolutionary process of replacement of capitalism by socialism continues to develop and widen. Today three main factors interact in this process: the world socialist system, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The world socialist system is the decisive factor in the anti-imperialist struggle. Though it came into being little more than two decades ago, it has already proved its great viability and strength. This is illustrated by the following fact. The socialist countries affiliated to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance account for only 18 per cent of the area and 10 per cent of the population of the world. But they produce roughly one-third of world industrial output today.

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The achievements of the world socialist system are an inspiring example to the working people of the developed capitalist states and to the popular masses in the young states which have taken the path of independent development.

"The rise and development of the international socialist system is part and parcel of the worldwide class struggle. The socialist system is the principal obstacle to imperialism."¹

The ideas of Leninism expressed in the practices of the world socialist system are a powerful means of struggle for social progress, and help to develop the class and revolutionary awareness of working people throughout the world.

Important changes are taking place in the contemporary working-class movement. The world today is witnessing unprecedented massive actions of the working people. About 10 million people took part in the May-June general strike in France in 1968. Over 12 million joined in the national strike in Italy in November 1968 and 18 million in February 1969. Fourteen million people participated in the traditional "spring offensive" of the working people in Japan. The history of the working-class movement in the imperialist countries has not for a long time recorded strike struggles on anything like the scale observed at the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism.

The class battles in the Western countries in recent years have been marked by a number of new phenomena in the mass workers' and anti-monopoly movement. The most important of them are the markedly increased tendency to united actions within the working class, the involvement in the struggle for social progress, along with the industrial workers, of engineering and technical personnel, office employees, intellectuals, students, and the middle classes in town and country. The broadening of the social composition of the anti-monopoly movement has further widened the gulf between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the ruling élite connected with it, on the one hand, and the mass of the population, on the other.

¹ *World Marxist Review*, No. 8, 1969, p. 2.

Today the working class is putting forward demands such as democratic nationalisation, broader representation of the working people in parliament, progressive social legislation, etc. Although these demands do not extend beyond the framework of the capitalist system, the struggle to implement them contributes to undermining the domination of the monopolies and to making the working class aware of its political tasks.

Lenin's idea about an organic link between the development of the working-class struggle for socialism and the general democratic movements is corroborated by the entire course of history.

"The socialist revolution [Lenin stressed] is not a single act, it is not one battle on one front, but a whole epoch of acute class conflicts, a long series of battles on all fronts, i.e. on all questions of economics and politics, battles that can only end in the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. It would be a radical mistake to think that the struggle for democracy was capable of diverting the proletariat from the socialist revolution or of hiding, overshadowing it, etc. On the contrary, in the same way as there can be no victorious socialism that does not practise full democracy, so the proletariat cannot prepare for its victory over the bourgeoisie without an all-round, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."¹

Leninism exerts enormous influence on the development of the national liberation struggle in the colonial and dependent countries. The new alignment of the socio-political forces in the world arena has speeded up the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism. In the last quarter of this century hundreds of millions of people have freed themselves from colonial bondage. A sweeping programme of socio-economic reforms undermining the foundations of capitalism is being carried out in a number of young developing states. The formerly colonial countries are stubbornly fighting to strengthen their political and economic independence. The socialist countries give the indispensable support to the national liberation struggle.

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 22, p. 144.

The socialist countries and the international working class are making consistent efforts to promote unity between all democratic and revolutionary forces. At the same time the world revolutionary working-class and liberation movements are invariably guided by Lenin's teaching.

Leninism has always been and will be the scientific basis for solving effectively the complicated and difficult problems arising on the path towards the worldwide triumph of communism. It is the common duty of the great army of Communists and all fighters against imperialism to uphold consistently the integrity of this teaching, to develop it in the Leninist spirit, to make the most skilful and fullest use of Lenin's theoretical legacy.

Inspired by Lenin's ideas, the international communist movement has scored immense successes and become the most influential political force of today. The communist parties are waging an active struggle on all continents. They are the ruling parties in a number of countries. They are active in the imperialist states and in many developing states and are in the vanguard of the struggle against reaction and for social progress. Each communist party is all the more successful in accomplishing its goals and tasks as it is more consistent in harmonising its international and national tasks, and displays greater activity and skill in applying the principles of Leninism.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in June 1969 was characterised by loyalty to Marxism-Leninism. The convening of the meeting was a great success for the international communist movement. Its deliberations and decisions gave the lie to the hare-brained prophecies of the enemies of communism who had hoped that the meeting would not take place at all, and if it were convened, it would end in a failure. At the meeting a profound analysis was made of the new phenomena in world social development in the period since the world forums of communist and workers' parties in 1957 and 1960.

The meeting forcefully emphasised the historical correctness and international significance of Leninism and adopted a special address, "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin", which said in particular:

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"The victory of the socialist revolution in a group of countries, the emergence of the world socialist system, the gains of the working-class movement in capitalist countries, the appearance of peoples of former colonial and semi-colonial countries in the arena of socio-political development as independent agents, and the unprecedented upsurge of the struggle against imperialism—all this is proof that Leninism is historically correct and expresses the fundamental needs of the modern age."¹

The creative spirit of Leninism pervades the main political and theoretical principles formulated in the document on the "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-imperialist Forces", adopted by the international communist forum. This and other documents of the meeting contain a comprehensive analysis of the new social phenomena of today. The main among them are as follows:

First, the development of the world socialist system, which has now reached a level at which it is possible to make fuller use of its enormous latent potentialities.

Secondly, the development of the scientific and technological revolution, which offers mankind unlimited opportunities but is handicapped by capitalism seeking to take advantage of science and technology to prolong its existence at the cost of mass distress and suffering.

Thirdly, the intensification of the state-monopoly nature of modern imperialism, the exacerbation of the antagonisms between labour and capital, between the financial oligarchy and the interests of the working class—the main motive and mobilising force of revolutionary struggle, as well as the interests of the great majority of nations.

Fourthly, the collapse of the colonial system, which has substantially undermined the positions of imperialism, and the formation of sovereign national states as a result of the national liberation movement.

An analysis of new social phenomena of today shows that the current period is distinguished by increased opportunities for further advances

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969, Prague, 1969, p. 41.*

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of the revolutionary and progressive forces. The documents of the meeting present a comprehensive, consistent, and militant programme of struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism. The meeting was a milestone in the struggle to strengthen the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties on the principles of proletarian internationalism. It dealt a powerful blow at the right and "left" revisionists, as well as at the nationalistic tendencies in individual contingents of the communist movement.

Our epoch is that of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism. Delegates to the meeting justly emphasised that the alignment of forces in this worldwide confrontation was changing in favour of peace, national liberation, and socialism rather than in favour of imperialism, despite its increasing aggressiveness and mobilisation of enormous resources for armed, political, economic, and ideological struggle against socialism and the national liberation movement. For all the difficulties and setbacks of its individual contingents the world revolutionary movement continues to advance.

As was pointed out at the meeting:

*"Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces."*¹

At the same time, the Communists are far from underestimating the strength and possibilities of imperialism. It is as formidable a menace to mankind as ever and has not turned into anything like a "paper tiger". As was emphasised at the meeting and stated in its documents, imperialism has at its disposal a giant military machine and a large economic potential; it has concentrated in its hands powerful means of ideological influence on the masses.

It should also be borne in mind that modern state-monopoly capitalism, compelled as it is to adapt itself to the conditions of the struggle

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969, p. 13.*

between the two socio-economic systems, is seeking to enhance production efficiency and increasing its financing of scientific and technological progress. In an effort to consolidate their positions in the world arena, the ruling quarters in a number of capitalist states are setting up multinational state-monopoly associations and aggressive military-political alliances.

Imperialism can no longer turn back the clock of history. But it is still capable of causing the peoples great suffering and casualties, of interfering in the affairs of other nations and of unleashing wars. The main imperialist power—the United States of America—has become especially aggressive. The peoples of the world are still threatened by the grave menace of another world war being triggered off by imperialism. The reactionary forces increasingly resort to police repression in an endeavour to limit the democratic gains of the working people, and do not stop at attempts to establish terrorist forms of government. In a number of countries imperialism is trying to regain its lost positions through military coups and various forms of intervention. Imperialism today is the No. 1 enemy not only of the international working class but of all mankind, and is the main obstacle to world progress.

The predatory imperialist policy of aggression is based on the desire to obstruct progress by any means, to weaken the positions of socialism, to suppress the national liberation movement, to hinder the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries for peace and democracy, and to check by all possible means the irreversible process of the general crisis and decline of capitalism.

The main military, political, and economic centre of world reaction, the most vicious enemy of the freedom of nations, is US imperialism.

As far back as half a century ago the founder of the Soviet state, Lenin, conclusively proved the falseness and groundlessness of allegations made by various apologists of US capitalism about its “peace-loving and progressive nature”. Describing the United States in this context, he said: “The idealised democratic republic of Wilson *proved* in practice to be a form of the most rabid imperialism, of the most shameless oppression and suppression of weak and small nations.” In Lenin’s estimation, US imperialism is “the most reactionary. . . the most savage

imperialism, which is throttling the small and weak nations and reinstating reaction all over the world”.¹

Developments in our day again proved conclusively the correctness of Lenin’s description of US imperialism. The United States was and remains the world’s biggest exploiter, the mainstay of all anti-popular regimes, and the main force of imperialist aggression and plunder in the capitalist camp.

The reactionary, anti-popular character of US imperialism was manifested with particular clarity in its aggression against the Vietnamese people. The US intervention, however, met with heroic resistance from the people of Vietnam supported by the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and the world peace forces.

One of the key tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle at present is to force the US imperialists to end their war of aggression in Vietnam and withdraw their forces from its territory. The appeal—“Independence, Freedom, and Peace for Vietnam!”—issued by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers’ Parties reads in part:

“True to the principles of proletarian internationalism and in the spirit of fraternal solidarity, the international communist and working-class movement will continue to render the Vietnamese people all the assistance they require until the final triumph of their just cause.”²

The tasks in strengthening the unity of the communist movement and the world anti-imperialist front and raising the entire struggle against imperialism to a new, higher stage, imperatively demand an intensified struggle against those who are trying to split the ranks of the international revolutionary movement.

This is why Communists throughout the world are indignant and deeply concerned about the adventurous chauvinist policy of the present leaders of the Communist Party of China who have broken with Marxism–Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism and are trying to split the world communist movement. All this is causing grave

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 28, pp. 189, 190.

² *International Meeting of Communist and Workers’ Parties, Moscow 1969*, p. 44.

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harm to the international communist movement, the working people of China, and to the People's Republic of China.

Such a policy is doomed to failure. The Marxist-Leninists are confident that sooner or later the ideas of scientific socialism will inevitably triumph in China, and that the Chinese people will make their contribution to the common cause of struggle of the world's working people against imperialism, for peace, democracy, and socialism.

In all their work the Communists are guided by Lenin's instruction that whatever vicissitudes of further struggle may be, no matter however many zigzags may have to be overcome, they must always keep in sight the general perspective so as not to be confused by these zigzags and turns of history. For the Communists this general perspective has been and will be the implementation of the historic task of revolutionary transformation of the world which will deliver mankind for all time from exploitation, poverty, hunger, suffering, privations, and destructive wars, and secure an abundance of material and cultural benefits for all nations.

Under the banner of Leninism, socialism and mankind's social progress have already achieved great victories. However, the struggle for mankind's happy future, for implementation of the great idea of social equality and justice is not over. Lenin's prediction that the forces of the old world will not quit the historical scene of their own accord is coming true. The decrepit and decayed capitalist system can and must be abolished by the joint efforts of the nations building socialism and communism, the working class and broad sections of the working people in the capitalist states, and the peoples struggling against colonial bondage, for the national independence of their countries.

Lenin's ideas are an inexhaustible source of inspiration to Communists, to fighters against reaction, for peace and socialism. This was reaffirmed by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Its address, "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin", says:

"Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to this great international teaching, holds the promise of further successes of the communist movement.

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"Communists regard it as their task firmly to uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the struggle against all enemies, steadfastly to make them a living reality, constantly to develop Marxist-Leninist theory, and enrich it on the basis of present experience of waging the class struggle and building socialist society."¹

Lenin's ideas are winning the minds and hearts of millions of people. Loyal to Lenin's behests, Communists relying on the growing international unity of the working class, all revolutionary liberation, anti-imperialist forces, will do everything in their power to achieve victory in the great struggle for socialism and communism throughout the world.

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969, p. 41.*

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, A PARTY OF CREATIVE MARXISM

Article from the journal *Kommunist*, No. 14, 1971

THE Soviet people are tackling today a variety of complicated tasks in the continued comprehensive development of socialist society, the building of the material and technical basis of communism which were outlined by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. All of us are profoundly convinced that these tasks will be successfully accomplished. Our Communist Party equipped with the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, constantly enriching and developing it, provides the most efficient guidance for the activities of the masses in revolutionary transformations.

All progressive, truly revolutionary forces in the world acknowledge that the CPSU, under whose leadership society has for the first time been transformed on socialist principles and is advancing towards communism, is an experienced and hardened contingent of the world communist movement, both theoretically and politically.

The 24th Congress conclusively demonstrated once more that the CPSU remains what it has been since its inception—a working-class party closely linked with the people and expressing its vital interests; a party of creative Marxism which organically embodies in all its activities the unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice on the basis of a scientific analysis and summation of the latest trends in social development.

The report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Party Congress made by Leonid Brezhnev, the Directives for the new five-year plan, delegates' statements, all documents and resolutions of the Congress expressed the collective thought, the collective experience, and the col-

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lective will of the Party, disclosed basic problems involved in perfecting developed socialist society and building the material and technical basis of communism in the USSR, problems of further consolidating and developing the world socialist system, the prospects in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence, and social progress, and problems of promoting unity of the international communist movement. The results of the Congress graphically and conclusively demonstrate that in all its work the Party relies on Lenin's ideological legacy, firmly follows the Leninist course, and solves the pressing problems of social progress in a creative spirit.

In the statements of their representatives at the 24th Congress, in documents of their congresses and plenary meetings of their Central Committees, as well as in the press, the fraternal parties pointed out that the scientifically grounded decisions of the CPSU on domestic and foreign policy problems are of immense importance to the working class and all progressive mankind, to the revolutionary forces struggling to overthrow the rule of capitalism and to build and consolidate socialism.

The constructive programme of struggle for peace and international security against the imperialist policy of aggression and for uprooting the remnants of colonialism and neo-colonialism, for mutually beneficial co-operation outlined by the 24th Congress, is an outstanding contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

The CPSU and the Soviet government have not only put forward a Peace Programme, they are translating it into action, relying on the immense and steadily growing potential of the USSR in alliance with the other socialist countries and with the support of all democratic, peace-loving forces. All this adds to the force of attraction of socialism, consolidates its positions, and creates more favourable historical conditions for widening and deepening the world revolutionary process.

The 24th Congress made a profound scientific analysis of the current stage of confrontation between socialism and capitalism. The distinctive features of this stage are that world socialism has finally gained the historical initiative, determines the main content and direction of social development, has achieved a radical change in the world balance of power and continues to press capitalism, and has entered a phase in

which the advantages of socialism are revealed ever more completely in all their aspects. Experience has fully confirmed the validity of the statement in the CPSU Programme about the steadily growing impact of the world socialist system on social development. The influence of socialism on the course of world history has become truly global. Socialism is influencing the processes taking place in the world by its economic, socio-political, scientific, technological, and ideological development.

In the course of the historical confrontation between socialism and capitalism the common front of the three main revolutionary forces of today—the world socialist system, the working class in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement—is growing stronger. The world revolutionary process is developing in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution. All this makes the present epoch the most revolutionary period in mankind's history.

Capitalism is compelled to adapt itself by every possible means to the changes being brought about in the world by the consolidation of socialism, by all revolutionary democratic forces. But capitalism has neither socio-political potentials nor the spiritual values necessary to evolve ideas capable of attracting the masses and thereby meeting the decisive historical challenge of the century—the challenge of socialism. It has become still clearer today that the policy of manoeuvring and adaptation pursued by the monopoly bourgeoisie is unable to heal the incurable ulcers of capitalism and save this moribund social system from its inevitable downfall.

Increasing economic and political instability, exacerbation of the old contradictions and the appearance of new ones, reactionary domestic and foreign policies, militarisation of all social life, wars of aggression now in one, now in another part of the world, a permanent menace of thermonuclear war, economic and monetary crises, inflation, unemployment, and growing social inequality and impoverishment of millions of people against the background of enormous production facilities and enrichment of a handful of multimillionaires—this is what the domination of monopoly capital brings mankind. The unprecedented aggravation of all the antagonisms of capitalist society makes revolutionary reforms an urgent necessity.

The growing successes of socialism and the widening of the world revolutionary process are accompanied by a sharp exacerbation of the ideological struggle. The weakening of the positions of the imperialist bourgeoisie under pressure from the revolutionary forces adds to the ferocity of its resistance. It resorts to more refined forms of struggle, to ideological subversion, and tries to take advantage of various revisionist vacillations. It should also be borne in mind that as broad non-proletarian masses become involved in the anti-imperialist struggle, their political instability and ideological immaturity often make themselves felt. All this generates various trends alien to Marxism-Leninism: adventurous "leftism" and advocacy of spontaneity, vociferous revolutionary phraseology, and a spirit of compromise. The ranks of opponents of the communist movement include anarchists, Trotskyites, Maoists, and other revisionists and reformists. Significantly, the differences between these trends become increasingly obliterated. The right and "left" opportunists more and more often join forces on the basis of anti-Sovietism, anti-communism, nationalism, and struggle against existing socialism. The 24th Congress, which made another contribution to communist unity, dealt a devastating ideological and theoretical blow at all varieties of opportunism and revisionism and further enhanced the prestige of socialism and the leading role of the communist movement in the world revolutionary process.

The Congress developed in conformity with present conditions the Marxist-Leninist principle of the leading revolutionary transforming role of the working class in all social movements of our time, and rebuffed attempts to play down its part in society. As we know, in the past few years ill-conceived capitulationist views concerning an alleged weakening of the revolutionary potential of the working class and a decline of its importance in the life of society have become widespread abroad. Misguided tendencies to oppose to the working class either the intelligentsia, or the peasantry, or the students have appeared. Bourgeois reformism and opportunist ideology and policy are used by imperialism in an effort to undermine the working-class movement from within and "integrate" it into the capitalist system. Having scientifically summed up the real processes of the modern period in full conformity with the Marxist-

Leninist teaching, the 24th Congress demonstrated that all the cardinal changes of the century—social, economic, scientific, and technological—far from weakening, enhance the world historic role of the working class as the gravedigger of capitalism, the architect and organiser of socialism.

The militant vanguard of the working class, its leader and ideological guide, are the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties, who have firmly established their positions as the most influential, best organised, and most active political force really spearheading mankind's social progress today.

The 24th Congress pointed out that in recent years the working class in the capitalist countries had further enhanced its fighting spirit as the main and strongest opponent of monopoly domination. The working class is the centre of attraction of all exploited strata, all detachments of the anti-monopoly front. The widening scale of the class battles of the proletariat in the citadels of capitalism, their increased massiveness and bitterness, herald new, even fiercer battles which may lead to cardinal social transformations, to the overthrow of the rule of the capitalist monopolies, and the conquest of power by the working class allied with other sections of the working people.

The Congress documents provide a scientific explanation of the growing role of the working class in consolidating socialism and building the material and technical basis of communism. The increasing importance of the historic mission of the working class is determined by its growing part in the system of socialist production, its leading role in social relations, and its characteristic features—revolutionary spirit, discipline, organisation, and class consciousness, because the working class is the standard-bearer of the ideas of scientific socialism, capable of rallying broad popular masses around itself on the basis of communist ideals.

The analysis made by the 24th Congress of the content of the current stage in the development of Soviet society and its prospects is a major contribution to the theory of scientific communism. The distinctive feature of this stage is that developed socialist society has been built for the first time in history and is functioning successfully in the USSR. This

proposition is of great, truly fundamental significance. It clearly points out the direction for theoretical research into the problems of the socio-economic development of Soviet society.

In defining the historical place of socialism some authors of scientific publications describe socialism as an undeveloped, immature society compared with full communism. This is true in the historical perspective of the development of socialism, as the first phase of communism, into its higher phase.

When speaking of socialism we naturally always have in mind its development prospects. Communism is our great goal, really sacred to us, and the most important task facing our theorists is a profound scientific substantiation of the ways and means of attaining it. No less important is the theoretical elaboration of problems revealing in all their magnitude every aspect of what socialism actually is as compared with the past and of the historic peaks to which it raises mankind.

An all-important task for Marxist scientists is to make a thorough study of all the aspects of Soviet society's material foundation—the socialist mode of production, its historical place and its fundamental difference from capitalism, the specific laws inherent in socialism, and the objective mechanism of their operation and systematic use in the interests of society as a whole. We need profound scientific knowledge of socialist realities because it is on that basis alone that the Party's economic policy is planned, economic development plans drawn up, and the entire system of government direction of the economy and the forms and methods of socialist management improved.

Mature socialism presupposes all-round and harmonious development of the economic, socio-political, and cultural conditions of life. At this stage society has a powerful material and technological potential built up on the basis of comprehensive development of the national economy and application of the latest scientific and technological achievements in production. Socialism ensures stable and high growth rates of production and labour productivity. Developed socialism is distinguished by mature social relations which have taken shape on the basis of unchallenged socialist ownership of the means of production, the eradication of all exploiter elements, and the establishment of the socio-political and

ideological unity of society. The socialist principle of distribution according to quantity and quality of work is universally applied under mature socialism. Developed socialist society has a corresponding political superstructure—the state of the whole people embodying profound democracy. Among its distinctive features are the broad development of public education and the universal spread and assertion of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

In accordance with the dialectics of its development, socialist society brings its potentials into play ever more effectively, advances and perfects itself, and at the same time creates the prerequisites for its transition to a higher phase and development into communism. The development of socialism and the building of communism are an integral, continuous process, in which every new stage is an organic extension of the preceding one and a step forward in the ascending, progressive advance of society.

Developed socialist society practically tackles the main economic task of communist construction—building the material and technical basis of communism, which is a qualitatively new phenomenon historically and socially. The construction of this basis is an intricate, many-sided, and comprehensive task requiring much effort and time.

The 24th Congress essentially specified the ways of building the material and technical basis of communism. A qualitatively new level of productive forces, fundamental modernisation in the technology and processes of production, and a radical improvement in the organisation of production, labour, and management must be secured on the basis of the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. It is a matter also of establishing a well-balanced sectoral structure and optimum proportions in the national economy, rationally distributing productive forces, and most effectively utilising natural, material, and manpower resources. All this is bound to raise considerably the productivity of social labour and the efficiency of the economy as a whole.

This will provide the basis for the continued improvement of production and other relations in developed socialist society, for satisfying more fully people's steadily growing requirements and for securing a real abundance of material and cultural benefits and the most favourable

conditions for the moulding of the new man and the all-round harmonious development of the people who control material facilities and social relations.

In turn the increasingly complete satisfaction of the requirements of the working people, the all-round and harmonious development of the individual, provide a tremendous stimulus to improve and increase production and raise labour productivity.

Guided by Lenin's principles and relying on the new enormous potentials created in the USSR, utilising more and more effectively the advantages of developed socialism, the Party pursues a policy of all-round, comprehensive development of the productive forces and relations of production, the social, ideological, and political life of Soviet society.

The developed socialist economy offers us much greater opportunities and resources than we ever had in the early stages of socialist construction for successfully coping with the increased economic tasks. These opportunities and resources for accelerated economic growth are utilised ever more effectively owing to the Party's consistent policy of raising the efficiency of the national economy by all possible means.

Intensification of production processes on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology, perfection of the inter- and intra-sectoral structure of social production by stimulating its most progressive trends as a matter of first priority, scientific organisation of work processes, improvement of economic planning and management, advancement of the socialist forms and methods of production management—such are the key elements of this economic policy of the Party. Its consistent implementation allows the best possible combination of the advantages of socialism with all-round development of the scientific and technological revolution, acceleration of the rate of progress towards the higher phase of communism, and the solution on this basis of our main social task—to raise steadily the living and cultural standards of the Soviet people.

It goes without saying that the Party has always sought to develop the economy with a view to improving the people's well-being. As Lenin pointed out, the purpose of socialist production is precisely to ensure

"full well-being and free, *all-round* development for *all* the members of society".¹

Soviet society has been advancing consistently towards the fulfilment of this task by overcoming formidable difficulties and concentrating its efforts on those sectors of social development which were most important in the given situation. Only a mature socialist society creates the material prerequisites for more complete success in achieving this goal.

The historic significance of the 24th Congress of the CPSU lies in the fact that it outlined a broad programme of social measures to improve the well-being of all sections of the population, to gradually level up the standards of life in town and country on the basis of increasing primarily the labour productivity levels in industry and agriculture, and to provide more favourable conditions for work and leisure for all-round development of the abilities and creative activity of Soviet people and for the education of the younger generation. The Congress determined that the main task in the ninth five-year plan was to achieve a significant rise in the living and cultural standards of the people on the basis of high growth rates of socialist production, its higher efficiency, scientific and technological progress, and accelerated increase in labour productivity.

The Congress emphasised that a significant rise in the living and cultural standards of the people was not only the main task of the ninth five-year plan but also a general guideline for the country's long-term economic development.

The growth of the people's well-being is a many-sided task in content and significance, and it would be a grave mistake to interpret it from a narrow consumer-oriented angle. Sufficient material benefits are a major prerequisite for the development of human abilities, the efflorescence of the personality, the improvement of material production, the advancement of science, technology, and culture, for social progress, in general.

The Party closely links the solution of the problems of improving the life of the people with the task of establishing social homogeneity in Soviet society.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 52.

Addressing the 24th Congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev said:

"The Party's policy is directed towards helping to bring the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the intelligentsia closer together, and gradually erasing the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between brainwork and manual labour. This is one of the key sectors in the building of a classless communist society.

"In our country the drawing together of all classes and social groups, the moral and political upbringing of the Soviet people and the strengthening of their social unity are being achieved on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which expresses the socialist interests and communist ideals of the *working class*."¹

The spectacular progress made in every field of life by all large and small nations making up the multinational Soviet Union is a great achievement of the Party's Leninist policy on the national question. The levelling up of the rates of economic, socio-political, and cultural development of Soviet nations has ensured the rapid and all-round social progress of the Soviet people as a whole.

The development processes of socialist democracy are an important subject of theoretical analysis. Lenin pointed out in his time that the socialist state derives its strength from its inseparable ties with the masses and their real involvement in the management of the affairs of society. In full conformity with these ideas the Congress stressed that the Party sees the meaning and content of socialist democracy in the steadily widening participation of the masses in government and public affairs. Naturally this process is linked inseparably with enhancing the social activity, political consciousness, and cultural maturity of Soviet citizens, improving the work of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the trade unions, the Young Communist League, and other public organisations. The all-round improvement of socialist democracy, whose class essence expresses the vital interests of the working class and the entire Soviet people, the further development of the creative initiative of the masses, their greater

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1971, pp. 87-88.

involvement in the management of the affairs of state and society—such is the main political line of Soviet society's advance towards communism.

The 24th Congress summed up the international experience in socialist construction and in the development of relations between the socialist countries and put forward a number of important theoretical propositions regarding the prospects and laws of development of the world socialist system.

The differences in the initial level of productive forces and socio-economic structure and the historical distinctions all have a bearing on the time and forms required for establishing a new social system. Hence the difference between the degrees of maturity of socialist development and the forms of political and economic organisation of society, the peculiarities in economic structure, and the methods of guiding the constructive work of the masses. But scientific generalisation of all experience in the development of the world socialist system, as well as an analysis of the root causes of its successes and difficulties, enabled the Congress to adduce more conclusive theoretical and political arguments in favour of the prime importance of the universal laws of socialist construction. It re-emphasised in its documents that it is impossible to build socialism and ensure its successful development while ignoring these universal laws. At the same time it is necessary to give a scientific explanation of the ways to bring these laws into play and the mechanism of their operation at each distinctive stage of the development of a given country, taking account of the specific features of its history.

The conclusions of the Congress on the prospects for the development of the world socialist system and the relations between the socialist countries are of great theoretical and political importance. The Congress emphasised that the common social system and vital interests of the socialist nations determine the leading historical tendency of their growing unity and cohesion. At the same time, the Congress described, with truly Leninist straightforwardness and frankness, the objective and subjective difficulties arising in the process of consolidation of the world socialist system and the ways of overcoming them. The anti-Leninist and anti-Soviet policy of China's present leaders is a grave danger to the socialist cause. We resolutely denounce this policy and the slander about the

policy of the CPSU being spread from Peking. At the same time, we have always sought and are prepared now to contribute in every way to the restoration and development of good-neighbourly relations and friendship between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

We now have a clearer view of the main laws governing the development of the world socialist system, how they took shape and how they operate. Many problems, however, still need a theoretical analysis and scientific generalisation. There is a need, for example, for a more profound scientific interpretation of the development processes of world socialism, which are quite new in their historical essence. In the first place, it is quite important to show from the positions of proletarian internationalism the objectively legitimate character of the growing political and economic unity of the socialist countries, and the vital interest each people has in the consolidation of the world socialist system, which fully accords with the national interests of each socialist country. One of the urgent tasks is to work out the problems of socialist economic integration, which, as is shown in the Comprehensive Programme of economic integration of the CMEA countries, guarantees to all members the most effective application of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, rapid production growth, and consolidation of the positions of socialism in its economic competition with capitalism.

The 24th Congress outlined the inspiring prospect of rapid development of all aspects of Soviet society on the basis of organic combination of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system.

Marxist-Leninist party leadership is an indispensable condition for success in solving all the problems of communist construction. It is natural, therefore, that we give close attention to developing the teaching on the leading role of the Party and to working out the problems of Party development. The CPSU resolutely opposed the revisionist attempts to play down the role of the Party and its Leninist organisational principles. The consistent struggle of the CPSU for the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the role of the working-class party is, as acknowledged by the fraternal parties, of great international significance.

The Party's leading role was won in a long and stubborn struggle for

the vital interests of the working people, and it rests on its high moral and political prestige with the masses. The unity of our Party and the Soviet people today is stronger than ever before.

The entire course of social development shows that as the tasks and scale of communist construction are widened, the leading role of the Communist Party, its political, organisational, ideological, and theoretical work grow along with them.

The enhancement of the Party's leading role at the present stage is due to internal and international tasks of tremendous dimensions and exceptional complexity, the growing political maturity and creative activity of the masses, the broadening of socialist democracy and the increased demands on the efficiency of social management, and the need to improve the communist education of the working people and constantly to enrich Marxist-Leninist theory, which alone can explain all the aspects of social life in their unity, show the correct way to advance and avoid mistakes and subjectivist decisions.

It is precisely the Communist Party which, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist generalisation of the experience of the masses in communist construction, works out the political line, guides all government and public organisations, co-ordinates their activities, encourages in every way the creative initiative of the working people, and directs their efforts to the common goal—the triumph of communism. The Party seeks to give free scope to the creative potentialities of all the agencies of the Soviet state of the whole people, of each collective and each citizen.

The CPSU embodies the unity of Soviet society. The enhancement of the Party's role is dictated by the need for more complete consideration and co-ordination of the requirements of all classes and social groups of society, the interests of the people as a whole, of all nations—large and small, and of all generations of our society. Accordingly, the Party seeks to perfect the forms and methods of its activities, to develop the Leninist principles and standards of intra-Party life, to solidify the unity of its ranks, to enhance the militancy and responsibility of all its organisations, and to extend and strengthen its ties with the masses.

The main task now is to mobilise all our forces and reserves to fulfil the majestic plans outlined by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and to

take full advantage of the abilities and knowledge, energy, and talents of Soviet citizens to build communism.

The immense new tasks facing us in the current five-year-plan period require us Communists, particularly social scientists, to raise significantly the level of theoretical work the creative research into the pressing problems of communist construction.

The problems involved in improving the planning and management of the economy remain as important as ever. The central task here is to make our plans at all levels a genuine instrument for scientific, technological, and socio-economic progress. They must contain scientifically grounded optimum solutions to the main problems of economic development and guide the socialist economy along the most progressive paths towards higher efficiency of social production.

The problems involved in drawing up long-term plans extending beyond five-year periods are particularly important and the most complicated. We need plans for a long-range perspective. It is impossible to advance confidently towards communism without looking well ahead and seeing the ways leading to it. Science and its different branches have an especially great role to play in solving the problems of long-term planning. A scientifically grounded realistic long-term plan requires long-term scientific forecasting in the economic, scientific, and technological fields, as well as nationwide co-ordination.

Improvement of the general level of planning and scientific forecasting demands profound comprehensive research into the economic laws of socialism, the mechanism of their operation and their practical application in socialist planning and management. It is not only a matter of defining the essence of the laws but also of analysing their operation and interaction, which determine the real tendencies of the economic development of society, and of studying their manifestations in the concrete situation.

We need profound research analysing and summing up new phenomena in the process of development, revealing the essence and tendencies of the processes going on, containing a Party, class assessment, and scientifically grounded practical recommendations for economic policy. We need research that helps identify the latent reserves of our social system,

bring them into play, and speed up the whole process of social development.

One of the basic conditions for our further successes in building communism is loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the creative development and consistent practical application of Marxist-Leninist theory.

THE LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN BUILDING COMMUNISM

Article from the journal *The Working Class and the Contemporary World*, No. 4, 1971

THE 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will go down in history as a forum which summed up the results of the fruitful work of the Leninist party and the entire Soviet people to fulfil the eighth five-year plan and put forward a scientifically grounded programme for the all-round development of Soviet society in the coming five years. The report of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered by its General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, the Directives for the five-year economic development plan of the USSR for 1971-5, other documents of the Congress, and the creative and businesslike atmosphere that prevailed at its deliberations, vividly demonstrated that the CPSU had entered a new five-year period of communist construction even more close-knit ideologically and organisationally and strongly united with the whole people.

The 24th Congress reviewed in detail the Soviet Union's economic, socio-political, and cultural progress. During the last five years our homeland has advanced to a higher stage in its steady progress towards communism. Under the guidance of the Communist Party the Soviet people have made spectacular achievements in communist construction, in developing the economy, science, technology, culture, and the arts, and in improving their living standards. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the friendship of Soviet nations, and the unity of all Soviet working people led by the Communist Party have grown still stronger.

The main result of the eighth five-year plan in the economic field is a tremendous increase in output and a substantial improvement in quality indices of the national economy. Our country continued successfully to increase its might. In five years a total of 1870 large industrial plants equipped with up-to-date technology were built and commissioned. Gross industrial output increased by 50 per cent. In 1970 alone roughly twice as much industrial produce was turned out as under all the pre-war five-year plans.

In the past five years the CPSU Central Committee and local Party organisations gave unflagging attention to the all-round advancement of agriculture in view of the fact that the volume of output of farm produce has a direct bearing on improving the Soviet people's living standards and the operation of many industries. The constant concern of the Party and the selfless efforts of workers in agriculture have had a considerable effect. Between 1966 and 1970 the output of agricultural produce grew 21 per cent as compared with 12 per cent under the previous five-year plan, and there was a substantial increase in the production of grain, cotton, sugar beet, milk, and other products. Last year's grain harvest was more than 186 million tons, the biggest gross yield in the history of agriculture in the USSR.

The people's living and cultural standards have risen steadily. There has been a 33 per cent increase in the real per capita income in the last five years. Payments and other benefits from the social consumption funds for public education, health care, old-age pensions, scholarships for students, etc., have risen by 56 per cent, and much new housing has been built, resulting in improved living conditions for nearly 55 million people.

The Soviet economy is making steady progress thanks to the heroic efforts of our working class, collective farmers, and intelligentsia. It is developing at a high rate according to plan without crises, depression, stagnation, unemployment, or any other of the social evils which are features of capitalism. Today Soviet industry manufactures in four days as much as the industry of tsarist Russia did in a whole year.

This comparison illustrates the Soviet Union's spectacular, breath-taking progress since the Great October Socialist Revolution, and is a vivid testimony of the unprecedented exploit of the Soviet people, who

have transformed their country into a great world socialist power. Formidable difficulties had to be overcome to accomplish this gigantic task. First, one of the most powerful and barbaric monarchies had to be demolished. Then an invasion by numerous hordes of foreign interventionists and White Guards had to be repulsed, the resistance of the class enemy suppressed and, finally, the Nazi armies routed in fierce fighting. For many years the Soviet people were building a new society under enemy fire, braving hunger, cold, and severe economic disruption. In spite of all that we raised industrial output to a level over 90 times as high as that of tsarist Russia. Really, our achievements have been magnificent!

Our socialist social system is conclusively proving its superiority over the capitalist system. Soviet economic growth rates are far higher than those of most capitalist countries, in particular the United States, the most powerful of all. Over the last five years the annual average rate of increase in industrial output in the USSR was 8.5 per cent as compared with 3.2 per cent in the United States; the corresponding rates in agriculture were 3.9 and 1.2 per cent, respectively. The annual increase in the national income was 7.6 per cent in the USSR and 3.4 per cent in the United States.

The difference in levels of economic development between the USSR and the United States continues to narrow steadily, and for some key indices the USSR has already outstripped the United States. For instance, in 1970 the Soviet Union produced more coal, iron ore, iron, tractors, grain-harvesting combines, cement, cotton and woollen fabrics, leather footwear, and sugar than the United States. The Soviet Union has come quite close to the US level in the production of steel, metal-cutting lathes, and mineral fertilisers. In 1975 the Soviet Union's gross industrial output will attain today's US level.

Soviet economic progress shows that time works for socialism and against capitalism. History inexorably follows the paths discovered by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. However much the apologists of capitalism try to embellish it, whatever ruses they resort to so as to save it, the downfall of capitalism is historically inevitable.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU defined the guidelines for communist construction, the continued development of the productive forces, the

building up of the country's economic and defence potentials, a substantial rise in the people's living standards, the all-round development of the Soviet people and the formation of their Marxist-Leninist world outlook. As formulated by the 24th Congress, the central task of the ninth five-year plan is to achieve a significant rise in the people's living and cultural standards on the basis of high development rates and enhanced efficiency of socialist production, scientific and technological progress, and accelerated growth of labour productivity. This line is the consistent continuation of the policy of the Party loyally serving the interests of the people. To make the Soviet people's life happier and richer is the main objective of the Communist Party.

The majestic goals of building the most equitable society on earth have aroused the people's boundless creative energy and an unprecedented labour enthusiasm, which has become a rule of life for the Soviet people. This is the basis of all the heroic accomplishments and tremendous transformations which have radically changed the face of our country.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU called forth a fresh surge of energy, political and labour initiative of the working class, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia, who are actively contributing to their great common cause of communist construction. The Soviet people regard the decisions of the 24th Congress as an expression of their collective wisdom and determination, their thoughts, aspirations, and hopes. This is why they unanimously approve the Party policy and have enthusiastically set to work to implement the Congress decisions formulating it.

The outstanding role and grandeur of constructive work for the benefit of the homeland, which have always been highly appreciated by the Communist Party, are assuming a new dimension today. The Party, the working class, the collective farmers, and the working intelligentsia have no task more important, honourable, and at the same time fascinating than that of fulfilling on time and wherever possible ahead of schedule all the assignments outlined in the Directives for the new five-year plan. It is a matter of honour for every labour collective, every worker, farmer, engineer, technician, office employee, and leading executive to do their level best in their jobs to increase output and improve the quality of pro-

ducts, to raise labour productivity and the efficiency of social production, and to improve the cultural and living conditions of the population.

Particularly great responsibility for successful fulfilment of the new five-year plan is vested by history in the working class—the main productive force in Soviet socialist society. Our Party is guided by Lenin's precept that the main thing in Marxism is to define the world historic role of the working class as the builder of a new society. The Soviet working class, which has invariably been in the vanguard of revolutionary transformations at all stages in the development of socialism, united and rallied around itself all working people and proved to be their genuine leader.

Russia's proletariat resolutely took the lead in the struggle of the masses against the rich landowners and capitalists even when it was still quite small in proportion to the total population. As we know, this struggle culminated in the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Since then the strength and influence of the working class has been steadily growing.

Today, too, in the period of developed socialist society the leading role is played by the working class and its Communist Party, the militant, time-tested vanguard of the entire Soviet people. The enhancement of the leading role of the working class in all fields of social life is a law governing the construction of socialism and communism. This role is determined by the objective position of the working class in socialist society, where it holds the commanding heights in the economy. The working class has all the requisite qualities to perform its role: revolutionary staunchness, splendid traditions, excellent organisation, political awareness, unshakeable faith in the triumph of communism. "The working class is the most numerous in our society . . .," the report of the CPSU Central Committee reads. "The working class has been and remains the main productive force of society. Its revolutionary spirit, discipline, organisation, and collectivism determine its leading position in the system of socialist social relations."¹

Today the working class accounts for over half of the Soviet Union's able-bodied population. Industrial workers make up the core of the

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 88.

Soviet working class. About half of the Soviet working class is employed directly in industry, the backbone of the economy. Highly productive labour of the workers is the main condition for Soviet economic progress, for building up the material and technical basis of communism in the USSR.

The rapid formation of new contingents of the working class during the past five-year plan periods is of major social and economic importance. Young workers are trained in the nationwide system of vocational schools on a wider scale than in any other country. The state vocational training system comprises over 5000 schools, which have put out more than 23 million skilled workers during the last thirty years. The thorny path of young people to occupational proficiency, which involves tremendous difficulties and humiliation of human dignity under capitalism, has vanished for ever in the USSR.

The working class in agriculture is growing along with the increase in the number of industrial workers. In the late pre-war and early post-war periods the number of agricultural workers was relatively small. As the Party policy of rapidly developing agriculture was implemented, however, the number of state farms expanded rapidly. At present nearly 9 million workers and office personnel are employed in agriculture in addition to the collective farmers. Today state farms account for almost half of the grain and one-third of the meat and milk produced in the country, and a substantial proportion of other farm produce. The improvement of agriculture is a common cause of the working class and the collective farmers today not only because industry manufactures farm machinery, fertilisers, etc., but also because the level of production in agriculture seriously influences the country's economic progress in general.

Over the last few years spectacular changes have taken place in the life of the Soviet countryside. The well-being of the collective farmers has been considerably improved as a result of the measures taken to strengthen the economic basis of socialist agriculture. For instance, the collective farmers' incomes in cash and in kind from commonly-owned economy have grown in fact by 42 per cent as against the 35-40 per cent increase envisaged in the eighth five-year plan.

The image of the peasants has changed beyond recognition. Their cul-

ture, political awareness, and education levels have risen immeasurably. Before the war only 6 per cent of the farmers had a higher or secondary education, whereas according to information for the end of 1970 more than half of the rural population had completed a secondary or higher school. Millions of farmers now operate tractors, harvesting combines, and lorries and expertly handle other modern machinery. The role of machinery is steadily growing, and work on the farms is turning into a variety of industrial activity. As regards the character of work and remuneration, living and cultural standards, social security benefits, and way of life in general, the villages are becoming increasingly urbanised, and the distinctions between town and country are gradually disappearing. The collective farmer is coming to have more and more in common with the industrial worker.

All this is indisputably due to the contribution of the working class—the leading force of socialism—as a loyal ally of the peasants.

The continued drawing together of the working class and the collective farm peasantry, the consolidation of their alliance and of the moral and political unity of Soviet society as a whole, are indispensable for success in communist construction. Quite naturally, therefore, the 24th Congress paid great attention to these questions.

In the process of communist construction the working class and the intelligentsia continue to draw closer together. The development of the scientific and technological revolution is swelling the ranks of the intelligentsia, especially of scientists and engineers, and enhancing their role in communist construction. The democratic educational system, which gives working people from all walks of life access to intellectual occupations, accelerates this process. Over the last two decades the number of diplomaed specialists employed in the economy has grown roughly fivefold (from 3.3 million in 1950 to 16.8 million in 1970). The number of scientists is growing at a still faster rate, having increased by 150 per cent during the last decade (from 354,000 in 1960 to 927,000 in 1970). Most of them come from the working class and the collective farm peasantry. The growth of the intelligentsia is what is to be expected in Soviet society. It confirms the Marxist-Leninist truth that communism can be built only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge.

In the course of Soviet society's development the intelligentsia has firmly embraced the communist ideology of the working class.

In the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution wide sections of the intelligentsia draw closer to the workers as regards their status in the production sphere. More than 6 million specialists (about 40 per cent of the total) work side by side with factory hands in the same collectives under identical conditions conducive to discipline, organisation, and collectivism.

The Party policy is directed towards strengthening in every way the alliance of the working class with the scientific and technical intelligentsia. Our Leninist Party has always resolutely opposed the reformist attempts to play down the leading role of the working class and the significance of the growing closeness between the working class and the intelligentsia. In the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution the leading role of the working class, far from declining—as bourgeois ideologists and revisionists of various kinds claim—is growing as the decisive factor in building a new society.

The swelling of the working-class ranks is but one aspect of the processes which objectively account for its leading role in the building of communism. Lenin said in his time that to be a true builder of a new society the working class must scale the peaks of science and culture. Today socialism has brought the wealth of science and culture within reach of literally the whole people. The cultural and technical standards of the working class have changed beyond recognition and risen immeasurably. Today over 55 per cent of the workers have higher, secondary, or incomplete secondary education.

The fact that the secondary working-youth schools have a student body of over 4 million while about 4.5 million more are enrolled at correspondence and evening courses of higher educational establishments and secondary technical schools (with a large proportion of the students combining work and study), suggests that the vast majority of the Soviet working class will have secondary or higher education in the near future.

The raising of the educational, cultural, and professional standards of workers means that the working class is in a position to enhance its role

in the conditions of the current scientific and technological revolution as well.

Automation and comprehensive mechanisation of production processes make new demands on the general educational standards and occupational skills of the workers. Coming on the scene is a new type of worker, whose skills are based on a high level of general education and special training. Before long the rapidly growing socialist production will demand such skills of all workers. Such is the general trend. Speaking at the meeting dedicated to the 50th anniversary of Soviet Georgia, Leonid Brezhnev said in particular:

"A comparatively short time ago, by way of giving the highest praise to a worker, people used to say, 'a master with hands of gold'. The foremost worker in our country today has more than hands of gold. He has competence in various fields, a broad mental outlook, and greater experience than before in socialist organisation of labour, in strengthening labour discipline and in implementing the Party's economic policy. He can cope with the problems of enhancing the efficiency of social production, of intensive development of the economy. He has come to be directly involved in carrying out the great tasks of the scientific and technological revolution."¹

The advancement of culture and occupational skills under socialism results logically in incessant growth of the production and socio-political activity of the working class.

It is precisely the working class, whose creative initiative is truly inexhaustible, that sets the tone in socialist emulation, which has invariably been an effective method of advancing the productive forces, perfecting relations of production, educating the working people, and involving them in production management. Socialist emulation evokes labour enthusiasm and creativity in the masses, brings to the fore millions of progressive workers and innovators, rationalisers and inventors. The decisions of the 24th Congress have given it an added stimulus. The emulation drive for greater success in fulfilling production plans and assignments has

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism*, Moscow, 1973, pp. 37-38.

assumed a truly nationwide scope. It now involves nearly 74 million workers, engineers, technicians, and office employees. The advancement of emulation to a qualitatively higher level is graphically illustrated by the growing movement for a communist attitude to work. Over 41 million working people take part in it at present.

The recent resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the continued improvement of the organisation of socialist emulation" contains a comprehensive and profound analysis of the development of emulation, its distinctive features and significance as a powerful motive force at the present stage of communist construction. This resolution, as also the measures taken by the CPSU Central Committee to widen the working people's economic education, is permeated with profound concern for involving all factory and office workers in an all-out effort to boost the country's economic growth and accelerate the building of a new society. The CPSU Central Committee emphasised that in the conditions of the current scientific and technological revolution, socialist emulation and knowledge of economics have a fundamentally new role to play in developing the economy, perfecting the relations of production, and educating Soviet citizens. Specific tasks have been outlined for the Party, government, trade union, Young Communist League, and economic organisations to promote socialist emulation.

At the current stage of social development the working class is stepping up its involvement in all the activities of the Soviet state. The proportion of workers in the Communist Party is steadily growing. Workers today account for over 40 per cent of its membership. In the period between the 23rd and 24th congresses of the CPSU more than half the newly admitted members—and in the biggest industrial centres up to 60–70 per cent of them—were workers.

The working class takes an active part in the work of the Soviet state institutions. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies are the most representative, truly democratic organisations. They represent the entire Soviet people and express the interests of all strata of Soviet society. As agencies of genuine government of the people at central and local levels, they come in contact with millions of citizens every day, directly express their will, and act as militant organisers of the majestic project of com-

munist construction. The Party is determined to carry on its all-out efforts to strengthen the socialist state, improve the functioning of the Soviets, develop socialist democracy in every way, and involve the finest sons and daughters of the working people in the management of the affairs of state.

Practically the whole Soviet working class is united in trade unions, whose activities are also directed towards strengthening the Soviet state and are connected with its work of economic organisation and cultural education. The Soviet trade unions are loyal supporters and close assistants of the CPSU and a school of class education of the working people. Lenin's definition of the trade unions as a school of communism is as valid today as ever. The Soviet trade unions enjoy extensive rights. They take part in solving the problems of distributing and utilising materials and financial resources, administer social insurance, a far-flung network of health centres, holiday homes, and tourist camps, and supervise compliance with labour legislation. The recent decree on the powers of factory trade union committees has a considerable role to play in stimulating trade union activity.

The involvement of the working people in production management is an inalienable feature of socialist democracy. It is implemented through the trade unions, people's control agencies, general meetings, production conferences, and various forms of voluntary public activity of factory and office workers. In 1970 alone more than 37 million people took part in 147,000 production conferences.

Speaking at the 24th Congress, Y. I. Lebedev, a grinder at the Kirov Plant in Leningrad, described the active, creative role of the workers in communist construction and their great responsibility for the country's future in the following words:

"We workers have been entrusted with a great deal. We produce values in a material sense and take an active part in the country's political affairs; we perfect the production of goods and are true masters of our enterprises. The workers' influence on social life and production is steadily growing not only at their own enterprises but also outside them."¹

¹ *Pravda*, 7 April 1971.

This situation conforms entirely to Lenin's idea that the workers should regard themselves not only as masters of their enterprises but also as representatives of the entire country there. The growing production and socio-political activity of the Soviet working class is the real expression of its leading role at the present stage of communist construction.

The consolidation of the leading role of the working class in all spheres of life in the first country of developed socialism is a guarantee of success in implementing our majestic plans for the future, which are eloquent proof that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union loyal, as it is, to the Leninist teaching is successfully leading the Soviet people along the path towards communism.

The ninth five-year plan, which is intended to secure further important advances in communist construction, provides for a tremendous growth of all industries. There will be a large increase in the production of electric power, crude oil, and chemicals. It is planned to increase the total industrial output by 42-46 per cent during the five-year period.

Agriculture is to be developed considerably on the basis of its intensification, mechanisation, chemicalisation, and land reclamation. Under the current five-year plan the farms will be supplied with much larger quantities of agricultural machinery and mineral fertilisers, and land reclamation will be undertaken on a broad scale.

We can say confidently that the USSR has all the requisite conditions to make socialist social production highly efficient and that the new five-year plan will be fulfilled. There is no doubt about that.

The tasks in further improving the living standards of the Soviet people by intensifying production and combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of developed socialism will be accomplished by the joint effort of the whole people with the working class in the vanguard. The Soviet people—workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals—have every reason to look confidently to the future. All Soviet working people are firmly determined to advance steadily towards communism. They demonstrate their determination by their enthusiastic work and spectacular production achievements. The heroic Soviet working class leads the nationwide drive to fulfil the ninth five-year plan assignments.

Never before in world history has the working class risen to such summits, nor has it ever been faced with such inspiring prospects and great opportunities for accomplishing its historic mission as in socialist society.

By its achievements in building a new system the Soviet working class has invariably exerted a revolutionising influence on the international proletariat and all world developments. The successful implementation by the working people of the social programme charted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU will add to the Soviet Union's worldwide prestige. The growth of its economic and defence potentials resulting from the fulfilment of the ninth five-year plan will further consolidate the world socialist community, demonstrate the advantages of a planned socialist economy, and promote the cause of peace and the security of nations.

Our friends and like-minded comrades unanimously acknowledge the great international significance of the 24th Congress. They know that the Leninist foreign policy of peace consistently pursued by our Party, the growth of the Soviet Union's economic and defence potential, the measures for the further improvement of the Soviet people's living standards provide fresh opportunities and new stimuli for further consolidating the positions of world socialism and intensifying the international communist, working-class and democratic movement, and the national liberation struggle against imperialism.

The leading trend in world development today is keynoted by the continued growth of the might and international influence of the socialist system, the development of the working-class struggle in the imperialist countries, the upsurge of the national liberation movement in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. The mass movement against militarism and imperialist aggression is growing in scope and intensity on all continents. The leading role of the international working class, its advanced contingents, is strikingly manifest in all these processes of crucial importance to mankind's destiny. Consistent application of the principles of proletarian internationalism and the loyalty of Communists to Marxist-Leninist teaching are indispensable for success in carrying out the world historic mission of the proletariat. In this context the anti-Leninist, anti-Soviet policy of the Maoists deserves a strong denunciation, for it is doing grave

harm to our common cause in a situation where developments imperatively demand still greater cohesion of all revolutionary anti-imperialist forces.

The 24th Congress put forward a comprehensive programme of struggle for peace and international co-operation, for freedom and independence of nations. It referred to the consolidation of the socialist system and solidarity with the peoples fighting for their national and social liberation as an all-important task facing the Party.

World developments since the 24th Congress have furnished new proof of the wisdom of the policy charted and consistently pursued by the Leninist party of Communists.

The CPSU has always been a party of the working class, of the whole Soviet people, expressing their vital interests, a party of creative Marxism which combines revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice in all its activities. The guidance of a Marxist-Leninist party is indispensable for the working class to succeed in carrying out its world historic mission. The CPSU resolutely opposes the revisionist attempts to play down the role of the Party and the Leninist principles of its organisation. As acknowledged by the fraternal parties, the consistent struggle of the CPSU for the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the role of the working-class party has great international significance.

The Communist Party has risen to its leading role in the Soviet Union in a long and stubborn struggle defending the vital interests of the working people. The Party relies on its high moral and political prestige with the masses. The growth of its leading role today stems from domestic and international tasks of enormous scope and exceptional complexity, from the growing political maturity and creativity of the masses, from the widening of socialist democracy and increased demands on social management, from the need to improve the communist education of the working people and constantly enrich Marxist-Leninist theory, which alone can correctly explain all the aspects of social life in their entirety and indicate the right way ahead. It is precisely on the basis of its Marxist-Leninist analysis of the experience of the masses in communist construction that the Communist Party maps out the political line for all government institutions and public organisations, guides them, and does all it

can to develop the creativity of the masses, and directs their efforts towards a common goal—the triumph of communism.

The leading role of the working class in communist construction, the time-tested leadership of the Communist Party, and the entire Soviet people's active support of the historic decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, inspire us with confidence that the majestic creative programme it has outlined, which is of enormous international significance, will be successfully fulfilled.

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has again demonstrated to the international working class and all the peoples fighting against imperialism that the Party founded and steered by Lenin is in the vanguard of the struggle for social progress, for a communist future of all nations. The Soviet people is boldly advancing along an untrodden path, blazing the trail to communist society for mankind.

The whole course of the world revolutionary process illustrates the leading role of the working class in world history, proves the vitality of socialism and its ability to guarantee the working people broad social and political rights, peace, prosperity, and all-round development.

THE GREAT ART OF VICTORY

Speech at the presentation of the Order of Lenin to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee, 17 January 1973

COMRADES! I convey the warm congratulations of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the collective of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism on the occasion of its decoration with a high government award—the Order of Lenin.

You have deserved this award by your important contribution to the scientific study, publication, and dissemination of the great theoretical legacy of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. During the fifty-year history of the Institute your collective has done a great deal of work in this noble field.

As we know, the Institute of Marx and Engels was founded on the initiative of Lenin, who displayed great concern for the widest possible dissemination and study of the works of Marx and Engels.

In compliance with Lenin's instructions our Party has invariably attached exceptional importance to collecting, preserving, analysing, and propagating the great ideological legacy of the founders of scientific communism. This is only natural, since their works always have been a life-giving source of strength for the Party, the working class, and the working people of all countries, a dependable guide in the struggle for the revolutionary remaking of society, for communism.

A priceless ideological legacy has been collected over the half a century of painstaking and persistent efforts by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Institute established by it. Fifty years ago, when the Institute had just been founded, it had only eight autographs of Marx at

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its disposal. Today it has in its depository almost 8000 documents of Marx and Engels and over 32,000 documents of Lenin.

Aided by a large body of Party activists and foreign friends, the Institute's researchers have discovered and collected many formerly unknown works of the founders of scientific communism and deciphered scores of thousands of pages of their manuscripts. All this wealth of writings is preserved at the Institute as the property of the Soviet and world public.

The Institute's great work in publishing two editions of the works of Marx and Engels and five editions of the works of Lenin has been duly appreciated. These editions run into a total of about 500,000,000 copies in 118 languages. In addition, resolutions of conferences and plenary meetings of the Central Committee, and minutes and verbatim reports of CPSU congresses were published.

Much work has been carried out by the branches of the Institute. They have translated the fourth edition of Lenin's collected works into the languages of Soviet nations, and some branches are preparing to publish a complete collection of Lenin's works as well as selected works of Marx and Engels.

The mass publication of works of classics of Marxism-Leninism in foreign languages, in which your Institute also takes an active part, helps provide ideological weapons for those who are fighting for communism and adds to the force of attraction and the transforming role of revolutionary theory.

The works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin are a veritable encyclopedia of scientific knowledge, containing a wealth of fundamental discoveries and brilliant conclusions in a variety of social and natural sciences. The classics of Marxism-Leninism effected a revolution in philosophy, political economy, history and sociology, ethics and aesthetics, and the theory of state and law.

Marxism-Leninism is the great art of victory. It equips the communist movement with knowledge of the laws governing social development, revolution, socialist and communist construction, and lays the scientific foundation for planning the correct Party policy, strategy, and tactics at different stages of its activity. Knowledge of Marxism-Leninism gives Communists and all Soviet citizens a clear understanding of the prospects

for our development, of how to use their potentialities in the most effective way in the nationwide effort to translate the communist ideals into reality.

The history of the Soviet Union and the world since the Great October Socialist Revolution confirms the correctness and powerful appeal of the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

Marxist-Leninist theory owes its great appeal and vitality primarily to the fact that it derives the wealth of its ideas from the realities of life, from revolutionary practice, and is constantly enriched with new historical experience, new discoveries in the natural and social sciences, and is in a constant process of creative development and perfection. Therefore it is a reliable guide to action and a torch of knowledge illuminating the path of the revolutionary movement, the struggle, and creative activity of the working people.

In all their activities the Party and its Central Committee are invariably guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching, applying and developing it creatively, consistently pursuing Lenin's course towards building communism in the USSR, tapping all the resources of socialist society to develop the economy at a high and stable rate, to expand it continually and raise its material and technical basis to a higher level, to enhance the efficiency of social production, to increase the productivity of social labour, and on that basis to improve the Soviet people's well-being.

By the joint efforts of the working class, the collective farmers, and the entire Soviet people led by the CPSU, a developed socialist society has been built in our country, a strong, united, and prosperous society advancing confidently on its charted course.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU, which was another milestone event in the Soviet people's drive to build communism, made an outstanding contribution to the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Its documents define the pressing problems of building a communist society, of intra-Party life, of the world communist, working-class, and national liberation movements—problems whose solution is of crucial importance to the USSR and all mankind. The Congress forcefully emphasised the great significance of revolutionary theory, and the need for creatively developing and spreading Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The decisions of the 24th Congress are being successfully carried into effect. The course set by the Congress for continued economic growth, accelerated scientific and technological progress, and a rise in the people's living and cultural standards is being followed unswervingly.

Recently the Soviet people and progressives all over the world celebrated the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The half-century history of the Soviet state confirms as indisputable the fact that the Communist Party has found the correct Leninist solution to the complicated nationalities question: it has established a multinational socialist state in which the principles of internationalism, equality, unity and fraternal friendship among all free nations, large and small, have been asserted for all time.

The abolition of the exploiting classes and the establishment of socialist ownership of the means of production, the great common aspirations and accomplishments of Soviet nations in the struggle for communism, the Leninist policy on the nationalities question, have rallied them behind the Communist Party. A new historical community of people—the Soviet people—has been formed on the basis of this unity and cohesion.

Our Party has united numerous large and small nations into a great revolutionary force for building a new society, secured their rapid economic development and the spectacular progress of socialist culture. This is a genuine triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas. To preserve and strengthen the friendship of nations as a great socialist achievement, to oppose any manifestations of nationalism, is a key task for all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The role of the Soviet Union in world affairs is being steadily enhanced due to its economic achievements, the growth of its economic and defence potentials, the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, and the Party's correct foreign policy. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government are actively and purposefully implementing the foreign policy programme of the 24th Congress, which has become an effective factor in world politics. We are fully justified in saying that on the whole the international situation has lately improved appreciably; the positions of the USSR, the world socialist community, and all forces

committed to the cause of peace, democracy, and socialism have been strengthened.

The CPSU sees its internationalist duty in continuing to pursue, jointly with the other Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries, the socialist foreign policy of promoting universal peace, defending socialism, and ensuring fresh successes in the peoples' struggle for social and national liberation.

Comrades! We owe our achievements in communist construction, in implementing our home and foreign policy primarily to the fact that we are constantly guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching. This great teaching also requires us never to rest on our laurels in the creative development of revolutionary theory.

The rapid development of all aspects of socialist society in its progress towards communism, as well as complex changes constantly taking place in the international situation, face us with many new problems and tasks demanding timely and theoretically grounded answers and recommendations. Soviet home and foreign policy planning, guidance of all the various creative activities of the masses, should be genuinely scientific in both large and small matters. We must therefore constantly sum up experience in the conscious transforming activity of the builders of communism and substantiate theoretically the forms and methods of solving new pressing problems in communist construction.

Our Party is doing everything for the continued creative development of Marxist-Leninist science. In his report "The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics", Leonid Brezhnev said:

"The Party continues, as it has always done, to support the innovative, Leninist approach to the study of complex social phenomena and the efforts of our theorists to develop social theory and creatively analyse reality."¹

The Party is firmly determined to defend Marxism-Leninism against any distortion. Its struggle to preserve the integrity of revolutionary theory is actively supported by fraternal parties in the world revolutionary movement. In co-operation with them we will continue working

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 111.

out the fundamental problems of modern world development, further consolidation of the world socialist system, the ways and forms by which world socialism can influence the non-socialist part of the world, studying the problems posed by the exacerbation of the contradictions of state-monopoly capitalism, paying close attention to the problems of the international communist and working-class movement, the national liberation struggle, and resolutely opposing those who falsify and distort Marxism-Leninism, and fighting bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

Taking advantage of recent effects of the scientific and technological revolution and distorting its social implications, bourgeois ideologists embellish capitalism in an effort to persuade the masses that it is viable and even progressive. They demagogically describe capitalism as "people's capitalism", as a "welfare state", as "the free world", and even as "the great society", and go to any lengths to slander the socialist system. Scared of the growing organisation, unity, and revolutionary fighting spirit of the working class, they seek to mislead and disorganise the working people in their struggle against imperialism, circulating false notions to the effect that the working class has lost its revolutionary and vanguard role in the liberation struggle of the peoples.

Grave danger is posed by social reformism, right-wing revisionism, and opportunism which seek to denigrate really existing socialism by preaching "humane", "democratic" socialism and inventing abstract "models" of socialism. All these allegedly new "models", however, boil down in fact to the same old anti-popular system of state-monopoly capitalism with a sprinkling of powder over its social sores.

All of us can see clearly how far the Maoists have gone in their anti-Leninist, great-power, chauvinistic policy. The objectives of their foreign policy of frank hostility to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are to undermine the world socialist system, split the communist and working-class movement and other revolutionary forces, to exacerbate international tensions, and provoke military conflicts. This policy is increasingly in tune with the policy of the reactionary imperialist forces, and is causing grave harm to world socialism, the international proletariat, the national liberation movement, and the struggle against imperialism.

SELECTED SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

The 24th Congress emphasised that the struggle against right and "left" revisionism, nationalism, anti-Sovietism, and anti-communism is as important and urgent a task as ever. The Party theoreticians and social scientists have a great role to play in this struggle. It should be borne in mind at the same time that the effectiveness of our criticism of bourgeois and revisionist ideology depends largely on creative development of revolutionary theory and a profound scientific elaboration of the current urgent problems according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The research personnel of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism are called upon to make an important contribution to the elaboration of urgent problems of Marxist theory and to the struggle against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, reformist, and revisionist views.

The resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Tasks, Structure and Staff of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism" and "On Further Measures to Promote the Social Sciences and Enhance Their Role in Communist Construction" outline the central tasks of your Institute. While continuing to collect and publish works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the Institute and its branches should concentrate on research into the fundamental problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, CPSU history, the theory and practice of Party development, scientific communism, the history of the international communist and working-class movement, theoretical generalisation of experience in communist construction, and denunciation of anti-communist ideology.

The world historic experience gained by the Party in guiding the masses is recorded in the numerous documents of Party congresses, conferences, and plenary meetings of its Central Committee. The Party attaches great importance to their preservation and publication. It is a great and responsible task to sum up in the process of research on Party history the Party's experience reflected in its documents, to uncover the sources of its strength, the laws of development, and the forms and methods of work at different stages.

The Institute's work in preparing new scientific editions of the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, documents and publications about their life and activity is still as important as ever. In this context it is appropriate to mention the great importance of the publication of the

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complete works of Marx and Engels in the language of the original undertaken by the Institutes of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the preparation by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee of an English edition of works by Marx and Engels jointly with the publishers of the communist parties of Great Britain and the United States.

Comrades! The Party and government highly appreciate the fruitful work done by the collective of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in collecting and disseminating the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and in studying urgent theoretical problems.

On behalf of the Central Committee I again warmly congratulate the staff of the Institute on the high assessment of their fruitful work and wish them new successes in their creative activity, in the study and propaganda of the ideological legacy of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY AND ITS WORLD HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE

Report at a meeting in Moscow on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress of the RSDLP, 13 July 1973

COMRADES!

Some events in the heroic history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were turning points in the development of the working-class and the entire revolutionary liberation movement. One of these was the Second Congress of the RSDLP held seventy years ago.

Celebrating this remarkable anniversary, we recall again and again the immortal genius of the great Lenin, the period when he began his work to establish a truly revolutionary party. At the turn of the century Lenin declared prophetically: "Give us an organisation of revolutionaries, and we will overturn Russia!"¹ Such an organisation was really established. As is emphasised in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 70th Anniversary of the Second Congress of the RSDLP" of 4 April of this year, this Congress was of truly world historic significance because it completed the integration of revolutionary Marxist organisations into a party of Russia's working class on ideological, political, and organisational principles formulated by Lenin.

This was how the first proletarian party of a new type—the Bolshevik Party of the great Lenin—came into being. All the finest, noble, and heroic qualities of the working class were embodied in the Leninist

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 467.

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Party, and the most courageous, utterly dedicated sons and daughters of the people, the bravest revolutionary fighters joined its ranks.

Lenin founded his party of revolutionaries on the bedrock of creative Marxism and the scientific generalisation of the experience of the world working-class movement, purposefully worked out the theoretical, political, and organisational principles of the party of a new type, continually developed and enriched them in conformity with the actual historical situation. A loyal follower of the cause and doctrine of Marx and Engels, Lenin defended the militant, revolutionary character of the Party in heated battles against the enemies of the proletariat, bourgeois, and petty-bourgeois ideology, right and "left" revisionism, and affirmed the Party's leading role in the working-class movement. The founding and consolidation of the Bolshevik Party was Lenin's greatest service to the Russian and international working class, the working people of the whole world.

The Party founded by Lenin, raised on his ideas and on the revolutionary traditions, continually steeled in the flames of class battles and in the process of creative work, has traversed a great historical path. It steadily grew stronger organisationally, matured politically, and enriched itself ideologically and theoretically. From a small cohort of proletarian revolutionaries, who raised aloft the banner of heroic struggle against the tsarist autocracy and capitalist wage slavery, the Party has grown into a powerful and united multimillion force of Communists standing at the helm of the world's first socialist state.

During the seven decades of its glorious history the Party has scored successes unmatched by any political organisation in the world. The transformations effected under its leadership have not only changed the face of our country but have also radically changed the course of world history.

The Emergence of Bolshevism—a Turning Point in the Russian and International Working-Class Movement

The Bolshevik Party came on the scene of political struggle when world capitalism had entered its final, imperialist stage. Imperialism had exacerbated to the extreme the basic contradictions of social development.

A revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism became the dictate of the times.

The social conflicts of the new epoch were especially bitter in Russia. Its socio-economic development was characterised by capitalist relations growing rapidly against a background of numerous survivals of serfdom. "... The most backward system of landownership and the most ignorant peasantry on the one hand, and the most advanced industrial and finance capitalism on the other!"¹ said Lenin of the historical situation in Russia at that time.

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century all the most essential antagonisms in the world—those between labour and capital, between the peasantry and the feudal-minded landowners, between the industrial capitalist cities and the backward semi-feudal villages, between the brutal policy of national oppression pursued by the tsarist autocracy and the resentment of the oppressed nations—became exceptionally acute in Russia. The interests of the monarchy were intimately intertwined with the interests of world imperialism. As a result Russia became the focus of the contradictions of world imperialism and its most vulnerable spot. The centre of the international revolutionary movement shifted from Western Europe to Russia. A democratic revolution against tsarism was immanent in a situation of more developed class relations than had existed in the period of the bourgeois revolutions in the West, a powerful working-class movement was developing, and the multimillion mass of peasants allied with it was growing increasingly restive.

The Russian proletariat was confronted with the all-important task of preparing and carrying out a revolution. Lenin wrote in this connection:

"History has now confronted us with an immediate task which is the *most revolutionary* of all the *immediate* tasks confronting the proletariat of any country. The fulfilment of this task... would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat."²

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 13, p. 442.

² Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 373.

With his characteristic foresight Lenin predicted that the victory of a democratic revolution in Russia would be the prelude to a socialist revolution; that it would give a strong impetus to the working-class movement in Europe and the national liberation movements in Asia.

In this way the revolutionary struggle of Russia's proletariat assumed crucial international significance.

The advent of a new epoch brought to the forefront the tasks of direct preparations of the proletariat for the revolutionary overthrow of the decrepit and corrupt social system and the building of a new society. Such tasks cannot be accomplished without organising a consistently revolutionary party of the working class, its political and ideological vanguard equipped with the theory of scientific socialism—a party of a new type. It was historically logical, therefore, that Russia with its acute social antagonisms and enormous potential for future revolutions was the birthplace of such a party.

The old social-democratic parties of the Second International, which had been formed in an atmosphere of relatively "peaceful" development of capitalism, could not reorganise according to the requirements of the revolutionary epoch. Having played at one time a useful role in gathering the forces of the proletariat, they increasingly slid down to opportunistic positions. Their absolute reliance on parliamentary and other legal forms of struggle led to their degeneration from revolutionary parties into parties of social reforms. International opportunism, of which E. Bernstein was the most outspoken protagonist, took the path of frank revision of Marxism and adaptation to the capitalist system. After Engels' death the official leaders of the Second International proved unable to resist the pressure of opportunism and sought to coexist peacefully in one and the same party with reformists, vehicles, and advocates of bourgeois ideology in the working-class movement. This finally led the social-democratic parties of the Second International to ideological and political bankruptcy. "Typical of the socialist parties of the epoch of the Second International", Lenin pointed out, "was one that tolerated in its midst an opportunism built up in decades of the 'peaceful' period."¹ To go

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 21, p. 110.

into battle with such parties in the vanguard was to doom the working-class movement to defeat.

Lenin was the first among the leaders of the Russian and international working-class movement to realise and prove scientifically that in the conditions of imperialism the working class needed a party of a new type radically different from the parties of the Second International—a party of social revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Lenin posed theoretically and resolved practically the task of setting up such a party in Russia, a truly revolutionary party intransigent to opportunism, well organised and united, equipped with revolutionary theory, and capable of leading the class struggle of the proletariat for its social liberation.

Lenin prepared the ground for the proletarian party of a new type by his great theoretical and practical work, criticism of the petty-bourgeois socialism of the Narodniks, and determined struggle against reformism and other opportunistic trends within the working-class movement.

As far back as the mid-1890s Lenin came forward as the most outstanding revolutionary thinker after Marx and Engels, a man whose brilliant mind penetrated the essence of social phenomena, developing the Marxist doctrine creatively in conformity with the specific conditions of the new epoch. Having summed up thoroughly and analysed critically the experience of the Russian and world working-class movement, he gave profoundly motivated scientific answers to the cardinal problems of the revolutionary movement posed by the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions and showed the working class new possibilities in the struggle for attaining its goals.

Already in his early works Lenin developed the Marxist idea of the hegemony of the proletariat and its alliance with the peasantry, and substantiated the concept of the leading role of the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Then, by creatively developing the ideas of Marx and Engels to bring them into line with the new historical conditions, Lenin evolved step by step his teaching on the party, its historical necessity and role in the struggle of the proletariat, its organisational and ideological principles, strategy, and tactics.

As we know, upon his arrival in St. Petersburg in 1893, Lenin took

steps to unite the fragmented Marxist circles and groups. As a result, the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class was founded there in 1895. At that time the opportunistic trend in the Russian social-democratic movement was only in its incipient stage, but its exponents—the followers of Bernstein and Struve, the “legal Marxists”, and later the Economists—who were opposed to the political struggle of the working class and the formation of a revolutionary proletarian party, were already active, seeking to divert the development of the working-class movement along reformist lines. The League of Struggle, which had formed under Lenin’s leadership in the struggle against these anti-revolutionary tendencies, was the embryo of a genuine revolutionary proletarian party in Russia and a pioneer in combining scientific socialism with the working-class movement, leading the class struggle of the proletariat against capitalism and absolutism.

The activities of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle led to the founding of similar leagues in a number of Russia’s industrial centres (Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Kiev).

On the initiative of these leagues the First Congress attended by their representatives was held in Minsk in 1898, and proclaimed the foundation of the RSDLP. However, the Congress, which was not attended by Lenin and his closest associates, who were in exile, failed to work out the Party programme and rules and overcome the disunity in the social-democratic movement.

The formation of a single party united ideologically and organisationally, therefore, remained a task for the future. For a number of years, in the hard conditions of exile, clandestine work, and emigration, Lenin carried out vigorous, truly titanic activities in organising a party of a new type. He put forward a plan—the only correct one in the prevailing situation—for rallying Russia’s revolutionary Marxists into a firmly united proletarian party with the aid of a clandestine political newspaper with a broad network of distributors in the country’s main regions. This newspaper was named *Iskra* (The Spark), and Lenin became its editor and ideological leader.

The work of the Leninist *Iskra* was the most important stage in progress towards forming the Bolshevik Party, defeating the Economists

ideologically and overcoming disunity and vacillations in the Party organisations.

Lenin described *Iskra* as "entirely Bolshevik" in its orientation. The finest representatives of Russia's revolutionary proletariat rallied around it. I. V. Babushkin, N. E. Bauman, S. I. Gusev, R. S. Zemlyachka, M. I. Kalinin, Lado Ketskhoveri, G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, P. A. Krasnikov, N. K. Krupskaya, F. V. Lengnik, M. M. Litvinov, O. A. Pyatnitsky, I. I. Radchenko, and Y. D. Stasova, to mention but a few, were Lenin's closest associates in organising the Party. The professional revolutionaries of *Iskra* played an important role in uniting local Party organisations on the principles of consistent Marxism in the ideological and organisational preparation of the Second Congress of the RSDLP. Lenin wrote later: "In the historical conditions that prevailed in Russia in 1900-5, no organisation other than *Iskra* could have created the Social-Democratic Labour Party we now have."¹

The Second Congress of the RSDLP, which met from 17 (30)² July to 10 (23) August 1903 approved of the activities of the Leninist *Iskra* in organising the Party and placed it on the solid foundation of the Leninist principles. The Congress consolidated the victory of the revolutionary Marxists over opportunism and dealt a blow at the whole spectrum of ideas generated by international reformism and its Russian variety as represented by the Economists and later by the Mensheviks.

It should be noted that G. V. Plekhanov, who had contributed a great deal to the ideological maturing of Russia's social-democrats, allied himself with Lenin in defending the revolutionary principles of Marxism and opposed the opportunists in the period of preparation for and at the Second Congress of the RSDLP. However, he could not free himself entirely from the social-democratic traditions of the Second International, failed to comprehend the new tasks posed by the new epoch and went over to the Mensheviks soon after the Second Congress.

The Second Congress of the RSDLP formulated the Marxist-Leninist Party Programme of struggle to overthrow the autocratic-feudal system

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 13, p. 104.

² Here and elsewhere the date in parentheses refers to the Julian calendar used in Russia before the October Revolution (Tr.).

and then capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin appraised this Programme highly, primarily because in contrast to all social-democratic programmes of the time it contained a provision for the dictatorship of the proletariat as an instrument for the revolutionary remaking of society. "In this programme, the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is stated in clear and definite terms, and, moreover, is linked up with the struggle against Bernstein, against opportunism"¹, Lenin wrote later. This fact of immense historic significance strikingly illustrates the role played by the Congress in affirming the revolutionary Marxist trend in the Russian and international working-class movement.

The RSDLP Programme laid special emphasis on the need for the Party to play the leading role in the proletariat's struggle to implement its historic mission of delivering all working people from exploitation.

The Programme creatively developed the tactical principles of the Marxist-Leninist working-class party with regard to the non-proletarian classes, in particular the peasantry and the oppressed national minorities. It resolutely broke with the official dogma of the theoreticians of the Second International to the effect that the proletariat, as K. Kautsky, for instance, asserted, would have "to fight its future battles alone". This dogma doomed the working class to isolation and eventual defeat.

There were advocates of this "theory" at the Second Congress as well. Praising the liberal bourgeoisie, they at the same time denied the revolutionary potential of the peasantry. Lenin levelled devastating criticism at their views. He substantiated the concept that the working class is the only leader of all working and exploited people because the development of capitalism gives rise to an "affinity, similarity, and connection" between the position of the proletariat and the non-proletarian working masses, by virtue of which the working class can win them over to its side and lead them not only towards a bourgeois-democratic but also a socialist revolution.

Lenin taught that the working class must be the rallying centre and leader of all democratic and anti-capitalist forces, skilfully combining

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 31, p. 340.

struggle for democratic and for socialist goals. This idea played a crucial role in developing the strategic and tactical principles of the Bolshevik Party and later of the entire international working-class movement.

The agrarian part of the Programme, which was written by Lenin, was of fundamental importance. Before and at the Congress Lenin resolutely opposed underestimation of the agrarian-peasant problem which was characteristic of the Social-Democrats in the West. Lenin refuted the opportunists' view of the peasantry as a reactionary mass and revealed its immense revolutionary potential. Lenin's agrarian programme directed the proletariat towards entering into a revolutionary alliance with the multimillion peasant masses.

During the discussion of the Programme opportunists of various kinds stubbornly opposed its provisions of principle, seeking to emasculate its revolutionary content. The leaders of the Economists (Martynov, Akimov) opposed Lenin's programme principles of Party leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The latter principle was also opposed, in fact, by Trotsky, who sought to put off its realisation until some infinitely distant future when the proletariat would constitute the bulk of the population and the Party would be close to "identification" with the proletariat, i.e. would dissolve, in effect, within it.

Lenin laid bare the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the Bund and upheld the programme principle of the need for international unity of the proletariat. He proved conclusively that nationalism is a vicious enemy of the working class and that emancipation of the workers and all exploited people is a social rather than national matter. Advancing and defending the right of nations to self-determination, Lenin demonstrated at the same time the utter untenability of the bourgeois-nationalistic demand for cultural-national autonomy, which was objectively tantamount to an infringement of the class, international unity of the proletariat.

The ideology of proletarian internationalism triumphed completely at the Second Congress. The attempt of the opportunists, the Bund in the first place, to convince the Congress that the Party should be based on national rather than class principle, and constructed not as a close-knit, united proletarian party but as a federation of isolated national organisations, was given a determined rebuff. From its very inception the

Bolshevik Party came forward as a united and centralised organisation relying on the whole proletariat regardless of language and nationality. This is precisely why it proved capable of rallying the working class and the masses of multinational Russia into a solid internationalist force which destroyed the rule of the landowners and capitalists.

The Programme adopted by the Congress set the guidelines for an alliance of the working class with the working masses of the peasantry and the oppressed nations, for securing its hegemony in the liberation movement, reaffirmed the profoundly internationalist character of the Party, and substantiated the inseparability and close mutual relationship of the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism.

Emphasising the immense historic importance of the Programme adopted by the Second Congress of the RSDLP, Lenin wrote later: "We educated the party of the proletariat with the aid of the Marxist programme."¹

Lenin saw the revolutionary Programme as linked organically with the revolutionary principles of Party organisation. He invariably proceeded from the premise that in a proletarian party the appeal of the ideas must be reinforced and multiplied by the efficiency of the organisation. He resolutely denounced both the ideological complacency and the organisational looseness, disunity, and autonomy characteristic of the parties of the Second International. He taught that a working-class party must be based on the solid foundations of centralism and discipline, which imply rather than deny democratic standards of intra-party life. The Party Rules formulated by Lenin were intended to meet exactly these requirements. In contrast to the views held by the parties of the Second International on organisational problems, Lenin's Party Rules clearly defined the class character of the Party and guaranteed the proletarian consistency of its social composition and firm organisational principles.

Lenin invariably followed a strict proletarian class line in Party development. He opposed Menshevik opportunism in organisational questions with his doctrine of the decisive role of revolutionary organisation

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 29, p. 192.

in the class struggle of the proletariat. "In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation!" he emphasised.

The experience of class battles daily provides new evidence of the profound wisdom of Lenin's words. Only a well-organised and disciplined party adhering to the platform of scientific socialism is capable of leading the working-class liberation movement to victory.

Lenin's report on the draft of the Party Rules gave rise to heated debates, particularly on the first paragraph formulating the qualifications for Party membership. In Lenin's wording it required personal involvement in the work of a Party organisation as a *sine qua non* of membership, thereby laying the organisational basis for securing the integrity of the Party ranks, Party unity, centralisation, discipline, and for enhancing the role of Party members. In opposition to this, Martov proposed a formulation making membership conditional on mere assistance to the Party under the guidance of a Party organisation. This vague wording would have flung the Party doors wide open, in particular to the petty-bourgeois fellow-travellers, unstable ideologically and organisationally, intolerant of discipline, and unwilling to work in Party organisations. Thus in the disputes over the first paragraph of the Party rules, as Lenin wrote, "the supporters of *bourgeois-intellectual individualism* . . . clashed with the supporters of *proletarian organisation and discipline*".² The question was whether the Party was to be proletarian and prepared ideologically and organisationally for revolutionary class battles or petty-bourgeois, ideologically unstable, and organisationally amorphous and loose.

Aided by the Economists and Bund delegates, Martov succeeded in mustering enough votes to have his formulation adopted at the Congress. It was so contrary to the entire spirit of Lenin's Party Rules adopted by the Second Congress that the majority of Party organisations took a determined stand against it, and before long the Third Congress of the RSDLP replaced Martov's formulation of the first paragraph with Lenin's.

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 7, p. 415.

² Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 7, p. 269.

On the whole the Party Rules adopted by the Second Congress were based on the organisational principles laid down by Lenin. The Second Congress made their key principle of democratic centralism Party law. Since then democratic centralism has been the fundamental principle of Marxist-Leninist Party organisation.

Thus in the debates on the Party organisation, Programme, strategy and tactics, as well as in the election of the Party's governing bodies, Lenin's line and that of *Iskra* prevailed. This was a triumph of the long and stubborn efforts made by Lenin and his followers to set up a proletarian party of a new type, a party of revolutionary transformation and scientific communism capable of providing effective leadership for the working people's struggle to liberate themselves from exploitation and build socialism and communism. That was the birth of the great Leninist Party of Bolsheviks. Lenin was fully justified when he said later that "as a current of political thought and as a political party, Bolshevism has existed since 1903".¹

The basic distinctions of Bolshevism as a party of a new type are the following:

the ideological and theoretical platform of the party of a new type is Marxism-Leninism and primarily the doctrine of socialist revolution, of the world historic mission of the working class and its party, of the dictatorship of the proletariat;

the party is the vanguard of the working class, the supreme form of its organisation and its political leader at all stages of its activities of revolutionary transformation—from the period of preparing and carrying out the revolution to the construction of fully developed communist society;

the party is the combination of Marxism with the massive working-class movement; the extension of the party's ties with the mass of the workers, with all working people is the main source of increase in its influence and strength;

the fighting ability of the revolutionary vanguard is ensured by the integration of theory and practice, the class character of the party,

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 31, p. 24.

its ideological and political cohesion and its organisational unity based on democratic centralism, strict discipline, the political awareness, and activity of each party member, his keen sense of responsibility for implementing the party policy;
as a truly revolutionary party it is intransigent towards any variety of separatism, political opportunism, or theoretical revisionism;
the Leninist party is one of consistent internationalism.

The emergence of the Bolshevik Party was an event of world historic significance which ushered in a new era in the development of the working-class movement in Russia and the whole world, and signified a radical turn from the traditional social-democratic parties to a proletarian party of a new type on an international scale.

Lenin's teaching on the Party is a powerful ideological weapon of the CPSU and the entire international communist movement. It is the spring-head of the strength and staunchness which have enabled the CPSU to withstand the most arduous trials and formidable difficulties on its path and win its epoch-making victories. The Leninist principles of the party of a new type are a truly great legacy bequeathed by Lenin to the world revolutionary movement.

The Bolshevik Party founded and fostered by Lenin resolutely and skilfully led the working class and all working people of Russia along the untrodden path of revolutionary transformations, which have radically changed the historical destinies of our country and the whole world.

The Leninist Party—a Party of Revolutionary Struggle and Communist Transformation of Society

The ideas of Leninism imparted to the Bolshevik Party great fighting qualities, powerful organising and mobilising strength, the ability to foresee the course of historical development, to guide the working-class activities in revolutionary transformations with skill and competence. Under the wise leadership of the Leninist Party Russia's proletariat with the multimillion ally—the peasantry—acquired tremendous strength.

The entire experience of the CPSU has proved incontrovertibly that the working class can perform its historic mission only under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party.

“Only the Communist Party, if it is really the vanguard of the revolutionary class, if it really comprises all the finest representatives of that class, if it consists of fully conscious and staunch Communists who have been educated and steeled by the experience of a persistent revolutionary struggle, and if it has succeeded in linking itself inseparably with the whole life of its class and, through it, with the whole mass of the exploited, and in completely winning the confidence of this class and this mass—only such a party [Lenin stressed] is capable of leading the proletariat in a final, most ruthless and decisive struggle against all the forces of capitalism. On the other hand, it is only under the leadership of such a party that the proletariat is capable of displaying the full might of its revolutionary onslaught.”¹

Our Party united the working class and all working people in Russia, rallied them to destroy the system of landlordism and capitalism, led them in three revolutions, inspired and organised them for building the world's first socialist society, aroused and mobilised the Soviet people for victory in the Great Patriotic War, and is now leading them to the full triumph of communism.

In the process of this great struggle the working people have learned by their own experience that the Bolsheviks are the only truly revolutionary party and have bound up their destinies with it for ever, as is illustrated, in particular, by the swelling of the Party ranks. In 1903 the Social-Democrats numbered only about 3500, whereas on the eve of the 1917 October Revolution the Leninist Party had increased its membership to 350,000, and today it has almost 15 million Communists in its ranks.

During its long and glorious history the Bolshevik Party—now the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—creatively developed its ideological weapons, perfected all its activities, and gained a wealth of experience in guiding the working-class involvement in revolutionary trans-

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 31, pp. 187–8.

formations in different periods and under different historical conditions. The Party has learned perfectly how to use the most diverse methods and means for preparing the masses for revolution, having at its disposal a rich arsenal of legal and non-legal, parliamentary and non-parliamentary, peaceful and armed forms of struggle, and seeking tirelessly to achieve the most effective combination of these forms in a specific situation.

The Party's activities in the period of preparing and carrying out the victorious October Revolution, of establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, are a model of Leninist political strategy and flexible tactics.

The October Revolution was a great national and international achievement of Russia's proletariat led by the Communist Party. This revolution destroyed one of the mightiest strongholds of world reaction, initiated mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, and ushered in a new era in human history.

The high fighting capacity and efficient organisation of the Communist Party, its close ties with the masses, the utter dedication and heroism of all Communists—from leaders to the rank-and-file members—rallied around Lenin and, inspired by his ideas, were the key factors in the Soviet people's victory over the internal counter-revolution and the foreign interventionists during the Civil War.

The imperialists tried to strangle the young Soviet Republic.

"It was only because of the Party's vigilance [Lenin said] and its strict discipline, because the authority of the Party united all government departments and institutions, because the slogans issued by the Central Committee were adopted by tens, hundreds, thousands, and finally millions of people as one man, because incredible sacrifices were made—it was only because of all this that the miracle which occurred was made possible. It was only because of all this that we were able to win in spite of the campaigns of the imperialists of the Entente and of the whole world having been repeated twice, thrice and even four times."¹

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 30, p. 446.

The victory of the socialist revolution confronted the working class with majestic construction tasks. In 1919 the Eighth Congress of the RCP(B) adopted a new, second Party Programme, which outlined the prospects and ways of building a socialist society.

Equipped with Lenin's teaching on the laws of socialist construction, linked with the masses by inseparable ties, the Party firmly believed in the triumph of socialism, the inexhaustible revolutionary potential of the working class, and inspired it to take the heroic path of construction. This was an extremely daring but at the same time scientifically grounded and thoroughly calculated programme of conscious historical creativity without precedent in history.

In the struggle for socialism the Party had to overcome the pessimism of sceptics, the opposition of the Trotskyites and right and "left" opportunists, the bitter resistance of the class enemies inside the country, and to repulse the rabid attacks of international reaction.

Under the guidance of the Party socialist industrialisation, collectivisation of agriculture, deep-going socio-economic transformations were carried out in the shortest possible historical time, the country's centuries-old backwardness was overcome, and major problems which had agitated the peoples of Russia and the world for centuries were resolved.

In the process of socialist construction private ownership of the means of production and exploitation of man by man were abolished. Public ownership of the means of production was instituted and became absolutely dominant in the USSR. It is the basis for boosting socialist production as well as for steadily raising the material well-being and living standards of the Soviet people. As a result of the triumph of socialism relations of social equality and comradely mutual assistance have taken shape between the members of Soviet society.

Translating Lenin's ideas into reality the Party solved the agrarian-peasant question in the interests of the working peasantry and the whole people for the first time in history. This question was settled in two stages. At the first stage the land problem was settled by abolishing landed estates, nationalising the land, and handing it over to the peasants. At the second stage, in accordance with Lenin's agricultural co-operation

programme, the peasants associated in collective farms on a voluntary basis, and agriculture was regeared to large-scale highly mechanised socialised production.

In the process of socialist construction Lenin's programme was implemented in the field of national relations, and the nationalities question was settled for the first time in mankind's history. The Leninist policy of the CPSU has resulted in the abolition of national inequality and strife, the rapid progress of all large and small nations of the USSR, and the establishment of their political and then economic and cultural equality. The historic results of the friendship of Soviet nations were demonstrated to the whole world during the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Party has translated Lenin's ideas of a cultural revolution into life by resolving such a social problem as the general cultural advancement of the working people and the assertion of socialist ideology.

The building of socialism in the USSR is a new achievement of world historic significance by the working class, the entire Soviet people, and is a genuine triumph of the guiding activities of the Leninist Party. Triumphant socialism has come to exert even more powerful influence on world development.

The great role of the Communist Party in the Soviet people's life and its influence on the course of world history manifested themselves with still greater vividness in the Great Patriotic War. It was in essence the most bitter and decisive class conflict between socialism and the most reactionary forces of monopoly capitalism. The war decided the cardinal problems of historical development: whether socialism would survive or fascism would bar the way to social progress, whether the peoples would be free or were to be enslaved by the Nazi military-political machine. The Communist Party was the socio-political force which cemented the unity of the Soviet people and mobilised them for victory over the invaders. Rallied under the banner and leadership of the Communist Party the Soviet people routed the Nazi hordes, defended the freedom and independence of their homeland, upheld and strengthened the socialist course of development, liberated many peoples from fascist slavery, and saved world civilisation.

The defeat of the Nazi invaders and Japanese imperialists changed the balance of power in the world arena, created favourable conditions for victorious revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries, and triggered off the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism. Loyal to its internationalist duty the CPSU effectively contributed by its correct policy to the growth and extension of the world revolutionary process, the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples.

Thus the guiding activities of the Leninist Party in the USSR and its internationalist policy proved to be a crucial factor in world development.

After the victory in the war the Soviet people led by the Party concentrated on post-war economic recovery and further economic development. Formidable difficulties had to be overcome and so they were. The Party inspired the masses to heroic labour exploits which were crowned with spectacular economic and cultural achievements.

The Soviet people's creative efforts were further embodied in the construction of developed socialism, which is the most complete expression of the social and historical essence of the new social system and its radical superiority over capitalism.

The supreme goal of the Communist Party, which is reflected in its very name, is the building of communism.

By the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress the USSR has advanced a considerable way towards this cherished goal. Today the tasks of communist construction outlined in the CPSU Programme adopted by the 22nd Party Congress are already being solved practically.

The path traversed by the Soviet Union under the leadership of the CPSU is the path of mankind's historical progress scientifically charted by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The Soviet people, led by the CPSU, are following an untrodden socio-historical road, tackling the most intricate problems of building and organising socialist society and developing it into communist society.

A new responsible and splendid historical task confronts the Party: while creatively developing the Marxist-Leninist teaching on communism to substantiate theoretically the laws of communist construction and blaze the trail to communism practically.

The 24th CPSU Congress, which was a milestone in the life of the Party and the Soviet people, mapped out a scientifically grounded policy of communist construction at the present stage. The implementation of the Congress decisions is the top priority task for the Communists and all Soviet citizens.

The Congress determined that the ever-increasing satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the working people on the basis of rapid production growth is a key economic and political task of the Party for the coming few years and in the long-term perspective.

The USSR now has an immense economic potential: a diversified industry, large-scale mechanised agriculture, advanced science, skilled workers, engineers, and managers. The Congress pointed out the need for shifting emphasis to intensive methods of economic work and improving its efficiency.

"The point is [Leonid Brezhnev said] that economic growth should be achieved increasingly by raising labour productivity and accelerating scientific and technological progress, by fuller utilisation of operating production capacities, by increasing the return on every rouble invested in the economy, and by more rational use of every ton of metal, fuel, cement or fertiliser."¹

Scientific and technological progress is the inexhaustible springhead of Soviet economic successes. The Party is taking resolute steps to promote and widen the scientific and technological revolution, to direct all its achievements to increasingly effective realisation of the advantages of developed socialist society.

Enormous pent-up forces can be released by enhancing the level of discipline and organisation, the initiative and productive activity of each labour collective, each builder of communism, by a more conscientious attitude to work and socialist emulation.

Finally, exceptionally great potentials for socialist production growth are inherent in the international division of labour and socialist economic integration on the basis of broad scientific and technical co-operation.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 104.

On the basis of continued acceleration of social production growth, the Party also organises the improvement of relations of production and all other social relations. The steadily growing unity of the working class, the collective farmers, the intelligentsia, the increasing unity and fraternal co-operation of Soviet nations, and their ever greater inviolable friendship can with full reason be described as the Party's greatest achievement. A new historical community of men—the Soviet people—has emerged as a vivid expression of the socio-political and ideological unity of Soviet society.

The Party is engaged in multifarious activities for the further consolidation of the Soviet state and the improvement of the entire political organisation of Soviet society. The main direction of this work is to involve new millions of activists in government affairs, continually to develop socialist democracy, enhance the role of the Soviets, the trade union, Komsomol, and other public organisations.

The great cause of communist construction implies the all-round development of man, his cultural standards and social awareness, his morals and communist ideology. The raising of several generations of Soviet patriots and internationalists, dedicated builders of a new society, is a truly historic achievement of the Party. The spiritual development of the new man is taking place in an uncompromising, irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideology.

The process of communist construction is inseparably linked with the increased influence and prestige of the Communist Party as the generally recognised leading force, the organising core of the entire social system.

Our Party, which is strictly proletarian in its character, objectives, and tasks, has always consistently upheld the interests of all working people. The fundamental socio-economic transformations in the country, which rallied all classes and social groups under the communist banner, have created a situation in which the CPSU expresses the vital interests of the entire Soviet people today. While remaining a party of the working class it has also become the party of the whole people.

The growth of the leading role of the Party today stems from its internal and international tasks of immense proportions and exceptional complexity. The Party is called upon to co-ordinate and direct the many-

sided activities of the Soviet people in all fields of their constructive effort—in economics, social relations, culture, and education—to map out the foreign policy of the Soviet state in the interests of peace, international security, and social progress throughout the world.

The great Lenin invariably displayed concern for the Party's prestige and called for it to be enhanced in every way. Speaking at the Second Congress of the RSDLP, he insisted that the Party's integrity should be carefully preserved, that the prestige and significance of Party membership should be raised higher and higher. "Every Party member", he said, "is responsible for the Party, and . . . *the Party is responsible for every one of its members.*"¹

Under present conditions a Communist is a revolutionary fighter for the full triumph of the great ideals of communism, who has a high political awareness and realises his responsibility for the Party cause. Indifference, passiveness, and ideological unprincipledness are incompatible with membership of the Leninist Party.

It is gratifying to see that the political and production activity of the Communists is rising to a still higher level in the course of the current exchange of Party cards. Consolidating this success, we must continue our efforts to ensure that each Communist actually lives up to his high status as a Party member.

By Lenin's definition the Communist Party embodies the wisdom, honour, and conscience of the present epoch. This has always obliged us to do our best to be worthy of such high praise. For this it is necessary to be utterly dedicated to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to safeguard the unity and cohesion of the Party ranks, to strengthen the ties with the masses, never to relax in one's sense of high responsibility to the people, to comply strictly with the Leninist rules of Party life and Party leadership.

In our day the question of the Party's place and role in the revolutionary movement and the building of a new society has become the most vital and urgent question in the Marxist-Leninists' struggle against the protagonists of bourgeois ideology, as well as the revisionists of various kinds and the right and "left" opportunists. This is not, of course, acci-

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 501.

dental. The future of the liberation movement of the proletariat and of socialism is closely connected with the existence of a militant Marxist-Leninist party of the working class. Such a party alone is in a position to oppose all petty-bourgeois vacillations, relapses into opportunism, anarcho-syndicalism, sectarianism, and extremism. Only a party steeled in struggle and cemented by common ideological, political, and organisational principles is capable of successfully guiding the great struggle for communism. This has been corroborated not only by theory but also by the practices of revolutionary struggle over the years. Our Party's fundamental line on this question has gained recognition of the international communist movement and promoted the correct orientation of the fighters for the working-class cause.

The enhancement of the role of the Communist Party in social development is closely linked with comprehension of the historic mission of the working class, its place in building a new, communist system. The Party has conclusively proved, on the basis of analysing the laws of socialist development, that the working class retains its leading role until the construction of communism and the achievement of a socially homogeneous society.

The founding and consolidation of the Communist Party, the successful performance of its leading role in revolutionary struggle, and communist construction are a great achievement of the working class, the inexhaustible source of its strength and invincibility in the struggle for the triumph of communism.

The CPSU—a Party of Proletarian Internationalists

Comrades! The great Lenin built the Bolshevik Party as a party of consistent proletarian internationalists, a component part of the international army of proletarian revolutionaries.

Born under the banner of unshakeable loyalty to proletarian internationalism, the Bolshevik Party is carrying this banner aloft, enriching and developing the theory and practice of proletarian internationalism.

Bolshevism has made use of the whole rich arsenal of revolutionary strategy and tactics, assimilated all the experience of the world liberation

movement of the masses, and expressed the main tendencies of its historical development in the modern epoch. Lenin pointed out that the Party relied

“on the *experience* of the workers of the whole world, both on their theoretical experience, on the achievements of their class-consciousness, their science and experience summed up by *Marxism* and on the practical experience of the proletarians of neighbouring countries.”¹

The history of the Party is a vivid illustration of the indivisibility of its national and international activity, the harmony between its national and international tasks.

During the First World War the Bolsheviks set an example of internationalist policy, of opposition to the imperialist predatory war and social-chauvinism. The Bolsheviks became the ideological and organisational core of the entire world movement of revolutionary internationalists, which played a role of prime importance in creating the prerequisites for the formation of the Communist International.

The October Revolution itself, carried out under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, is the greatest international achievement because the first breach of the system of imperialism in human history, the establishment of the world's first proletarian state, radically changed the conditions of the liberation struggle of the working people of the world. The world's first workers' state has been not only a permanent source of inspiration and confidence in victory for the fighters for the revolutionary remaking of the world but also the main stronghold of the world revolutionary process, a material force assisting movements against imperialism.

Under the powerful impact of the October Revolution, as the answer to the vital requirements of the working-class movement, communist parties began to form quickly in capitalist countries on the initiative of the Marxists in each country and with Lenin's theoretical, internationalist support. In contrast to the reformism and social-chauvinism of the social-democratic leaders, Lenin's principles of Party organisation and activity, the principles of internationalism became widespread in the working-class movement.

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 36, p. 282.

Lenin and the Party gave immense assistance to the young communist parties in assimilating revolutionary experience and revolutionary theory. Lenin directly guided the work in developing the theory, strategy, and tactics of the communist movement, the ideological, political, and organisational principles of the formation and activities of the communist parties, in creating the prerequisites for further growth and consolidation of fraternal communist parties of a new, Marxist-Leninist type. This was how the ideological and political foundation for the contemporary communist movement was laid.

Lenin also summed up the latest experience in forming and strengthening the communist parties, enriched his teaching on the party of a new type, deepened and widened the content of the principles of Bolshevism.

Lenin pointed out that Bolshevism “has become *world Bolshevism*”. It

“has produced an idea, a theory, a programme and tactics which differ concretely and in practice from those of social-chauvinism and social-pacifism. . . . Bolshevism *has created* the ideological and tactical foundations of a Third International, of a really proletarian and Communist International, which will take into consideration both the gains of the tranquil epoch and the experience of the *epoch of revolutions, which has begun*. . . . Bolshevism *can serve as a model of tactics for all*.”¹

The communist parties attached great importance to learning the principles of Bolshevism, the experience of work in revolutionary transformation. It has been repeatedly emphasised in Communist Party documents that assimilation of Leninism is the key prerequisite for enhancing the revolutionary fighting capacity of a party and for preparing it for decisive class battles.

Thanks to its loyalty to Lenin's ideas, the communist movement has now become the most influential and best-organised political force of today.

All truly Marxist parties are guided by the Leninist principles for organising the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, creatively enriched and developed in conformity with the historical traditions and national distinctions of the given country.

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 28, pp. 292-3.

Lenin's teaching on the Party is being translated into life in the struggle against opportunists and revisionists of every stripe. Our ideological adversaries seek to prove that this teaching has no international significance, that the organisational principles and the rules of Party life laid down by Lenin reflect exclusively the specific conditions of Russia, have now become outdated and are inapplicable to modern reality. Revisionists like Fischer and Garaudy and their kin want to play down the significance of the communist parties, to undermine their ideological and organisational unity and their leading role in the working-class struggle for power and in socialist construction.

Along with all Marxist-Leninist parties the CPSU regards defence, development, and assertion of Lenin's time-tested teaching on the Party as its internationalist duty.

Loyal to Lenin's internationalist behests, the CPSU is waging a consistent struggle for political and ideological unity of the international communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It greatly contributed to promoting the unity of this movement at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, as well as by its subsequent steady and fruitful efforts to put its decisions into practice.

Now we are witnessing the growing unity of the world communist ranks which contributes to consolidating the positions of all revolutionary forces. The splitting, nationalistic, and chauvinistic policy of the Maoists stands in sharp contrast to the internationalist line of the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties. The Maoist leadership of the Peoples Republic of China have betrayed Marxism-Leninism—the principles of proletarian internationalism—and are pursuing a policy hostile to the CPSU, the Soviet Union, the socialist community, and the entire world communist movement, supporting any reactionary regimes and forces in order to undermine the international positions of socialism. There is no doubt that this policy of China's present leaders is doomed to failure. The policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government towards China is one of normalising inter-state relations between the two countries while waging a determined ideological and political struggle against Maoism.

In the present situation the all-out effort to implement the course

determined by the 24th CPSU Congress of perfecting developed socialism in the USSR and building communism, of fulfilling the plans for considerably raising the Soviet people's well-being, expresses the harmony between the national tasks and the internationalist duty of the Party and people.

The constructive work of the Soviet people led by the CPSU is part and parcel of the world revolutionary process, whose development brings nearer the collapse of imperialism and the triumph of socialism on a worldwide scale. The world socialist system—the creation of the international proletariat—has now become the decisive factor in modern development. The imperialist system of colonial oppression has disintegrated for ever. The number of newly independent states, which have firmly made a socio-political choice in favour of a socialist perspective, is steadily growing. The class battles in the capitalist countries are mounting, and their tendency to grow into an onslaught against the entire system of state-monopoly domination is becoming increasingly manifest. The forces of peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism are growing throughout the world, and the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government also contributes to this growth.

Soviet foreign policy is a socialist class policy designed to create a favourable international climate for communist construction in the USSR, to strengthen the fraternal unity of the countries of the socialist community, to assist the working-class and national liberation movement, to promote peace and international security and to ensure the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The CPSU regards the fraternal alliance of the nations of the socialist community as the greatest achievement in the postwar period. In the struggle to establish this alliance the Party has invariably pursued a truly internationalist policy, and is stepping up its efforts to promote the economic integration of the countries of the socialist community and the continued consolidation of their equal fraternal political union.

The CPSU consistently pursues a policy of assisting the peoples struggling for their national and social liberation. The Soviet people contributed to the historic victory of the Vietnamese people over the imperialist aggression. The Vietnamese people's heroic struggle and the

fraternal internationalist assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have been crowned with success.

The Soviet Union is steadily and consistently pressing for a just settlement of the Middle East crisis on the basis of Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab lands and the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

The Peace Programme formulated by the 24th CPSU Congress, which is being implemented by the efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet government, has an extremely beneficial influence on world developments.

The force and effectiveness of the Peace Programme stem from its scientific argumentation, realism, and accurate conformity to the objective requirements of social development. The main objective factors taken into account by the Party in adopting the Peace Programme and struggling to put it into effect are the cardinal changes in the world balance of political and economic power in favour of socialism. These changes have been brought about by the selfless work and struggle of the Soviet people, the growing influence of the socialist community on world development, and the active struggle of all peace forces against the threat of another world war. The Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries, and other peace forces broke the cold war front and set the stage for the beneficial process of *détente* in international relations, a turn towards mutually advantageous co-operation between countries with different social systems on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in April 1973 expressed a high appraisal of the great constructive efforts of the Politburo and the personal contribution of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, in the field of foreign policy and international relations. This assessment was actively supported by the whole people, all progressive forces in the world.

Leonid Brezhnev's visits to the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, and France were another contribution to the cause of peace and the security of nations. The talks held and the agreements reached in the course of these visits meet the interests of the Soviet people and the aspirations of all progressive mankind.

Comrades! Acknowledging the favourable changes in the international

situation, the Party never forgets, of course, that they have been achieved in a severe struggle with imperialism, that its resistance to a relaxation of international tensions is still far from being fully overcome, that explosive hotbeds of tension dangerous to peace continue to exist and, needless to say, a bitter class struggle is going on both on the international scene and inside the capitalist countries. The ideological confrontation between socialism and capitalism is particularly acute. Our class foes jump at every opportunity to smuggle reactionary bourgeois ideology into socialist countries.

The April 1973 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee gave a warning about this danger and pointed out the need for further raising the level of ideological work by Party organisations, for constant vigilance and readiness to repulse any intrigues of the aggressive, reactionary imperialist circles and any hostile acts of ideological subversion. The education of Soviet citizens as dedicated builders of communism loyal to the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism should continue to be the chief thing in our ideological work.

World developments in the last few years clearly show that the Party's Leninist policy is an ever more powerful and effective factor in international affairs. It gives great satisfaction to see the solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist parties and mass public movements with the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state in implementing the Peace Programme. This solidarity is one of the sources of success of the peace policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government.

Comrades! Today, seven decades since the Second Congress of the RSDLP, we can say with lawful pride that the path traversed by the Leninist Party is one of truly majestic historic victories and accomplishments. The CPSU has successfully coped with tasks of world historic significance. It owes its success to its invariable loyalty to the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism. The creative development and application of this teaching, the Leninist ideological, political, and organisational principles, the Leninist rules of Party life and Party leadership, the indissoluble unity of the Party and people are the guarantee of our future achievements.

SELECTED SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

Under the great banner of Leninism, under the leadership of the Leninist Party the Soviet people are advancing to new triumphs of communism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the great Party of Lenin!

FOLLOWING THE GREAT LENIN'S BEHESTS

Report at a meeting in Moscow on the occasion of the 105th anniversary of Lenin's birth, 22 April 1975

COMRADES!

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's birthday has become a great and radiant holiday in the life of the Soviet people and the working people of the whole world. Lenin's name is infinitely dear to all progressive mankind.

A genius of revolutionary theory and revolutionary action, Lenin raised Marxism to a new, higher level. He discovered the laws of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale and showed the working class and all working people the right way to the revolutionary transformation of society.

Lenin founded a revolutionary party of a new type, which embodies the wisdom, honour, and conscience of our time. Under his leadership the Great October Socialist Revolution was victorious, the world's first socialist state—the Soviet Republic—was founded, and the building of socialism was started.

The celebration of Lenin's birth has a profound meaning to us Soviet people. Each year we compare the path we have traversed with Lenin's behests to assess our achievements and formulate the tasks for the future.

The Soviet people are celebrating the 105th anniversary of Lenin's birth in an atmosphere of great political and labour enthusiasm with new achievements in the drive to implement the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. The Soviet people are fully determined to honour the 25th Congress of their beloved party with new exploits. The constructive

efforts of the workers, the peasants, and the intelligentsia today are a continuation and development of the creative uplift of the early five-year plans, the heroic exploits of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War and the post-war period.

Under the banner of Leninism a communist society is being built in the Soviet Union, the world socialist system is developing, the ranks of the international communist movement are strengthening their unity, and new victories are being won by the progressive forces fighting against imperialism for social and national liberation. The Leninist foreign policy consistently pursued by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community has brought important successes in the struggle for peace and the security of nations and for a relaxation of international tensions.

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, said: "Leninism is the most advanced and influential ideology of the modern world, the invincible ideology of those who have the future with them."¹ Mankind's future is a communist society the trail to which is being blazed by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Leninist Party.

The Soviet People on the Correct Leninist Path

Comrades! The entire history of the Soviet land is a continuation, consolidation, and development of the great cause of communist construction begun in Lenin's lifetime and bequeathed by him to us. In accordance with Lenin's plans industrialisation, collectivisation of agriculture, a cultural revolution, and the union of Soviet nations in one fraternal, friendly family were achieved in a relatively short space of time in the most difficult conditions of capitalist encirclement. As far back as the thirties socialism triumphed and became firmly established in the USSR. In the subsequent decades even more spectacular successes were achieved in developing the economy, socialist social relations, science, and culture and in enhancing the political awareness of the masses. As was pointed

L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1972, p. 262.

out at the 24th CPSU Congress, a developed socialist society has been built in the USSR by the selfless efforts of the working class, the collective farmers, and the intelligentsia—all the working people.

The socialist economy is as ever the main field of communist construction, because, as Lenin wrote, it is vital to the well-being of hundreds of millions of people.

The gigantic economic potential created in the USSR makes the Party's programme task of building the material and technical basis of communism feasible. The USSR is a great industrial power which has a diversified industry equipped with advanced technology, a successfully developing agriculture, rich natural resources, and skilled manpower. It accounts for one-fifth of world industrial output.

The economy of developed socialism guarantees dynamic and stable social production growth. In the last decade the country's national income doubled, and industrial production has increased by 120 per cent. Over the period about 4000 large industrial enterprises were commissioned, including such giants as the Volzhsky Car Factory in Togliatti, the world's biggest dam at Krasnoyarsk, the Leningrad Atomic Power Plant, and the world's largest blast furnace at the Krivoi Rog steelworks. Construction has got under way on the Kama Motor Works at Naberezhniye Chelny and the Baikal-Amur Railway. New rich mineral deposits are being developed: oil and gas fields in Siberia and Central Asia, and iron ore deposits in the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly area.

The dynamic character of the socialist economy is also shown by the rapid qualitative advancement in all fields of production. The increase in industrial and agricultural production obtained by raising labour efficiency is steadily growing. The structure of Soviet industry is improving due to the more rapid development of the industries which determine technological progress in the national economy as a whole: general and power engineering, radio-electronics, production of the means of automation, the chemical industry, and instrument making.

The high growth rates in all sectors of the economy and the qualitative improvement of production are the result of an increasingly successful combination of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism. Science has become an actual

productive force substantially accelerating the country's economic progress. Scientific discoveries in various fields are now more quickly applied in material production and contribute to its radical modernisation on an advanced technological basis.

An annual average of 3400 new lines of industrial products go into mass production in the current five-year-plan period—twice as many as in the previous one. The Party will continue to give paramount attention to scientific and technological progress and further advancement of the entire socialist economy on that basis.

The accelerated process of concentration of production and improvement of its organisation have become an important distinctive feature of the current stage in the development of Soviet society. In industry this is expressed, in particular, in the establishment of self-supporting associations, of which there are now over 1500. The development of such associations is an important step in improving production management and efficiency.

The Party attaches great importance to introducing new forms of organisation into agriculture. Almost 5800 associations of enterprises, with collective and state farms involved, are in operation, and agrarian-industrial complexes are becoming increasingly widespread. All this creates more favourable conditions for specialisation and concentration of agricultural production, for raising the level of its mechanisation and organisation, and for converting farm work into a variety of industrial activity.

The Party policy in agriculture is a creative development of Lenin's agrarian policy conforming to the new situation. The March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, at which Leonid Brezhnev delivered a very important report, made a particularly great contribution to planning this policy. The Party is steadfastly following the line of all-round improvement of the material and technological facilities in agriculture, the collective and state farm economy, consistent intensification of production by mechanisation, chemicalisation, and broad-scale land reclamation.

Over the past ten years a total of 195,000 million roubles has been invested in all branches of agriculture. This is twice as much as in all the

earlier years of Soviet power. The policy planned by the Party is yielding steadily growing positive results. The annual average grain yields, which were roughly the same for a long time, have now risen substantially. Livestock farming is developing steadily, and its productivity is increasing. The work and everyday life of the villagers are radically changing in character. The entire tenor of rural life tends towards urbanisation. We can safely say that a fundamental improvement has been achieved in agriculture. The implementation of the programme of advancing agriculture in Russia's non-black-earth zone, which the Soviet people have welcomed enthusiastically, will be of enormous importance.

Comrades! In a short time we shall turn another page in the history of our country's progress and sum up the results of another majestic five-year plan. It is already certain, however, that since the 24th Congress important progress has been made in communist construction, primarily in building the material and technical basis of communism. A solid bridgehead has been gained for a continued successful advance towards the great goal of communism.

The Party estimates our successes at their true worth in accordance with its Leninist tradition not to rest on its laurels and to concentrate on the outstanding problems.

We are confronted by the important political and economic task of fulfilling and overfulfilling the assignments for 1975 and successfully completing the ninth five-year plan as a whole. Attention must be concentrated in the first place on raising efficiency in all sectors of the economy, on making fuller use of all its resources and latent reserves, and eliminating shortcomings. The Party appeals for persistence and creativity to improve economic performance indices, strengthen discipline, and raise the sense of responsibility, raise labour efficiency, and the standards of all our work in general. Every Soviet citizen is in duty bound to work today so well as to be entitled to say proudly, as Lenin put it: "I am part of the great army of free labour."¹

The beginning of 1975 was marked by new labour successes of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia. In the new upsurge of the mass-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 299.

scale socialist emulation working people came forward with new valuable patriotic initiatives in an effort to increase output, improve product quality, and reduce production costs. The traditional Leninist *subbotnik* which evoked particularly great elation and assumed nationwide scope this year was another striking example of the labour enthusiasm of the Soviet people. More than 135 million people took part in it.

The Soviet people's constructive, creative energy derives from their awareness that their work is crucial to the nationwide effort to increase the prosperity of their socialist homeland and further improve the well-being of the whole people.

The aim of the economic activity of the Soviet state is to provide favourable conditions for the life, work, and all-round development of the working people, to supply as fully as possible their material and cultural requirements. This is the supreme goal of our Leninist Party policy.

The efforts of the Party and government to improve the people's welfare have assumed particularly wide scope in the last decade, when the possibilities for this grew immeasurably. The working people's cash incomes and the social consumption funds have increased considerably. Guaranteed pay to collective farmers has been instituted, their pensions improved, and a uniform social insurance system introduced. Factory and office workers now enjoy two days a week off and longer annual holidays. Over 110 million people have moved to new flats or improved their housing conditions. The everyday life of Soviet citizens and the appearance of Soviet towns and villages have changed, the people's cultural and educational standards have risen.

Pursuing the central target of the five-year plan in full compliance with the Directives of the 24th Party Congress we have scored important success in all fields where efforts were made to raise the working people's living standards. In four years of the five-year plan the per capita real income has risen 19 per cent. Average monthly earnings reached 141.1 roubles in 1974 as compared with 122 roubles in 1970 and 96.5 roubles in 1965. Collective farmers' pay has risen by 21 per cent over the last four years to 91 roubles today. In addition, collective farmers receive a certain income from their subsidiary individual plots.

While steadily pursuing its policy of all-round improvement of the whole people's well-being, the Party attaches crucial importance to raising the living standards of working people in the lower income brackets. Practical steps have been taken in this direction, such as accelerating the increase in the social consumption funds and raising the wage minimum. For the same purpose child welfare allowances have been instituted for families in low-income brackets, and old-age, war, and labour invalids' pensions, as well as pensions for families bereft of the bread-winner, have been increased. Maintenance grants to students of higher education establishments, secondary technical, and vocational schools have been increased. A number of other measures have also been implemented in this field.

While taking steps to raise the income levels of Soviet citizens the Party and government are steadily pressing for further growth of the production of goods and services. In the current five-year-plan period the turnover of retail trade increased by 41,000 million roubles. This means that an average family of four can buy 575 roubles' worth of goods more than at the beginning of the period.

There is an especially rapid increase in sales of consumer durables for home comfort and convenience, such as household appliances, furniture, and cars. In 1970, for instance, only one out of two families had a TV set, whereas now two families out of three have one; formerly one family out of three had a refrigerator, and now every second family has it.

On the whole, in yearly terms government spending on measures to improve the people's living standards will more than double under the ninth five-year plan as compared with the eighth. In the current last year of the five-year plan, important tasks will be accomplished in raising the people's well-being.

Comrades! In the process of steady advance towards communism the ideological and political unity and cohesion of Soviet society grow stronger, and all classes and social groups draw closer together. This unity is the guarantee of success in fulfilling the Party's programme tasks.

The leading force in Soviet society is the working class—the bearer of the finest revolutionary traditions, the most hardened, politically conscious, and best-organised class. It rallies behind itself the collective

farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, who have embraced its revolutionary ideology.

The contribution of the Soviet peasants to the common cause of the people becomes greater with the economic and cultural advancement of the agricultural areas. Today's rapid scientific and technological progress and the raising of the Soviet people's educational and cultural standards give added importance to the activities of the people's intelligentsia, who dedicate all their knowledge and talents to the country's service. The Party considers it to be its duty to continue promoting the unity of the Soviet people in the struggle to build a classless society in the USSR.

Soviet society is an indissoluble brotherhood of working people. The socialist social system and the harmony of interests and common ideology of all the working people have become the foundation on which, as Lenin predicted, new forms of human association have come into being, the Soviet socialist way of life has been established in opposition to the bourgeois way based on exploitation and oppression of man by man. The steady and stable improvement of the people's material well-being, their high level of spiritual life, their allegiance to the communist ideals, utter devotion to the socialist homeland, the increasingly favourable conditions being created for people's all-round and free development—such are the basic features of the Soviet way of life.

The socialist way of life has inseparably bound up the interests of the individual with those of society, the individual destinies of people with the progress of the country as a whole. The Soviet man—socially and politically active, with a high political awareness and a sense of collectivism and responsibility to the people—strives to devote his energy and abilities to the service of society. Inseparable from the Soviet way of life are socialist patriotism and internationalism, sincere friendship and brotherhood of all the country's nations and nationalities, an irreconcilable attitude to nationalism, petty-bourgeois individualism, tendencies to money-grabbing, and other survivals of capitalism.

At all stages in the history of the Soviet state the people displayed high labour enthusiasm, creative energy, and selfless devotion to the cause of socialism and to Leninist ideals.

The sublime patriotism, unprecedented courage, and mass heroism of

the great Soviet people, its selflessness and fortitude were displayed to the full in the severe trials of the Great Patriotic War. The Soviet people and their valiant Armed Forces upheld the freedom and independence of their socialist Motherland, delivered the peoples of Europe from fascist tyranny. Their historic victory prepared the way for a new mighty revolutionary upsurge throughout the world which resulted in the formation of the world system of socialism and brought about the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism.

Now, on the eve of the 30th anniversary of Victory Day, the whole of progressive mankind pays a tribute of gratitude and respect to the heroic Soviet people, the victor people. For ever unfading are the glory and valour of the fighters at the front and the working people in the rear, the feat of the Soviet people educated in the ideas of Leninism and led by the Party of Lenin.

Leninism—A Mighty Force in the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress

Comrades! The whole of world development in our time is a tangible expression of the historic truth and revolutionary transforming impact of Leninism. Experience convincingly confirms Lenin's prediction of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the triumphant growth of the forces of socialism, peace, and national liberation in the period following the October Revolution.

Lenin's ideas have been profoundly and fully embodied in the realities of world socialism. The peoples of the fraternal socialist countries led by the Marxist-Leninist parties are successfully scaling new peaks in their historic ascent. The countries of the socialist community are demonstrating unprecedented dynamism in all spheres of social progress, full social maturity, and the fundamental superiority of socialist interstate relations to relations between capitalist states.

Mutual assistance and co-operation in production between the CMEA member countries under the Comprehensive Programme of socialist economic integration enable each of them to use their resources to the best advantage and accelerate their joint advance towards communism.

The co-operation of the fraternal parties and states in the political, ideological, and military fields is growing stronger and widening. The Warsaw Treaty Organisation will be twenty years old next month. We can say with reasonable satisfaction that it plays a truly historic role in strengthening the defence capability of the European countries of the socialist community in safeguarding peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. Conferences of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states have become a major form of co-ordinating their foreign policies, a high rostrum from which important peace initiatives have been repeatedly proclaimed.

The international positions of the socialist community have never been as strong as today. Its prestige among the nations is unprecedentedly high. Steadfastly following the path charted by Lenin, the fraternal socialist countries have become an indestructible citadel of peace, a powerful factor in world revolutionary development.

The all-round progress of socialist society immune to economic crises, inflation and unemployment is in sharp contrast to the situation in the capitalist world hit by the deepest-going crisis of the post-war period, affecting the economy, the political superstructure, and the ideology of bourgeois society.

It is not accidental that in their statements leaders and ideologists of the capitalist world often compare the present crisis situation with the so-called "great depression" of the thirties. For all the conventionality of such historical comparisons it must be admitted that this one is not devoid of reason. Today, as forty-odd years ago, the capitalist system is faced by a particularly sharp growth of economic, social, and political contradictions.

A slump in production is concurrent with unprecedented inflation and rocketing price rises. The decline in living standards and the hardships suffered by the working people are aggravated by the present steep growth of the army of unemployed in all the leading capitalist countries.

State-monopoly regulation has proved unable to curb the anarchy and antagonisms in the world capitalist economy. In addition to a crisis in the production sphere, the world monetary chaos has grown worse, the contradictions between the imperialist and the developing countries

have deepened, and the rivalry between large groups of capitalist states and inside them has become fiercer. The antagonism between labour and capital—the main class contradiction in the capitalist world—has been sharply exacerbated. A mounting tide of class battles is in evidence in all the main capitalist countries. Forty-eight million people went on strike last year—more than in 1973.

The numerous apologetic conceptions of bourgeois economists and revisionists about "organised", "planned", and "transformed" capitalism and "neo-capitalism", which is alleged to have overcome crises, removed class antagonisms, unemployment, poverty, and other social sores inherent in the capitalist system, have suffered bankruptcy.

As Lenin predicted, the broad involvement of the formerly oppressed peoples of the colonial and dependent countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in independent historical creative activity is a remarkable feature of modern world development.

The collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire—the last one on earth—set the seal on the history of the "old", that is to say traditional, colonialism. At the same time a crisis of the neo-colonialist policy of imperialism is developing. The developing countries increasingly tend towards joint action in the struggle for their economic independence and the restoration of their national sovereignty over their natural resources. Despite all its complexity and diversity the growing process of social change in these countries is on the whole also objectively directed against imperialism.

Although reaction on the rampage has forced the democratic forces in some Latin American countries to retreat, the liberation movement there continues to develop and strengthen its ranks. Along with the progressive world public the Soviet people are voicing their fraternal solidarity with the progressive forces of the Latin American peoples, with the Chilean patriots who have refused to bow down to the fascist dictatorship.

The consistent implementation of Lenin's idea of worldwide co-operation between socialist and national liberation forces is a dependable guarantee of continued independent development and social progress of the young national states. The Soviet Union invariably manifests its

solidarity with the peoples fighting against imperialism and colonialism for their national and social liberation, rendering them political and material aid. This is one of the fundamental principles of Soviet foreign policy.

The consolidation of the positions of world socialism, the growing unity and mounting struggle of the international working class, all the forces of peace, democracy, and national liberation, open up new broad prospects for strengthening peace and the security of nations, for the continued development of the world revolutionary process.

The Soviet people take lawful pride in the contribution made to the great cause of struggle for universal peace by their country, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Leninist Central Committee, the Politburo of the Central Committee headed by Leonid Brezhnev who has gained profound respect in broad circles of the world public by his selfless work for the benefit of peace and social progress.

Consistent struggle for peace is an expression of the Party's profound loyalty to Lenin's words: "We promise the workers and peasants to do all we can for peace. This we shall do."¹

The main, prevailing trend in the development of the current international situation is the strengthening and extension of *détente*, the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence. To confine ourselves only to the chief recent achievements, Leonid Brezhnev's fruitful talks with the heads of state and government of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, and Britain deserve special mention. The last series of talks culminated in a number of bilateral agreements, among which the Soviet-American agreement on further steps to limit strategic offensive arms holds pride of place. Meetings of other Soviet leaders with many representatives of foreign countries and organisations were also of major significance. The results of such meetings and talks answer the interests of strengthening world peace.

It is generally acknowledged that the prerequisites have been created for an early completion of the European summit conference. The USSR and the fraternal socialist countries are doing everything for its success.

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 27, p. 379.

The conference is called upon to help create an atmosphere of mutual trust and to develop good-neighbour relations between the European states.

Appreciable progress has also been achieved in international economic co-operation. The turnover of Soviet trade with the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Britain, Italy, Japan, and Finland already runs into thousands of millions of roubles. Large-scale deals are mutually advantageous for both sides. Attempts to impose discriminatory terms on socialist countries in economic or any other relations have never had and never will have any chance of success.

The downfall of the reactionary regime in Greece and the democratic, anti-fascist revolution in Portugal have very favourably influenced the political situation in Europe. The Soviet people are following with deep sympathy the successes scored by the people of Portugal in the country's democratic renewal and the struggle against reactionary conspiracies. We resolutely denounce any attempts to interfere in Portugal's affairs and welcome the rallying of all its progressive, revolutionary, and democratic forces.

Détente is extending to ever new areas of the world. The economic and diplomatic blockade of Cuba has failed. Socialist Cuba's international prestige is higher than ever before, and its revolutionary gains are irreversible.

We note the important success achieved in easing international tensions, and we are determined to continue to step up our efforts to strengthen peace. One cannot ignore the fact that the opponents of *détente* have of late become more active again and are engaging in dangerous schemes. In a number of Western countries the ultra-reactionary forces are rearing their heads and the rightist forces are putting greater pressure on their governments' foreign policies. Anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaigns are being whipped up to poison the international climate. Exposing acts of subversion and aggression by imperialism is a component part of the struggle to strengthen peace. The arms race and the growing military budgets of the imperialist powers clearly run counter to political *détente*. Increasingly stiff opposition to *détente* and the foreign policy of the socialist community is coming from Peking. China's leaders

have openly taken sides with the most reactionary representatives of imperialism.

No respite, complacency, or relaxation of vigilance can be tolerated in the struggle to strengthen peace. As Leonid Brezhnev justly remarked in his address to the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party: "*Détente*, the strengthening of peace, is a process which must go on continuously. To stop somewhere along the road would endanger also those gains that have been made."¹

The Soviet Union consistently comes out in favour of the establishment of a lasting and just peace in the Middle East. For this the Israeli forces should be withdrawn from all Arab lands occupied in 1967, the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to their own national state, should be respected, and all states in the region allowed to live and develop in freedom. These questions are part of a single whole, and a genuine settlement requires a comprehensive approach to their solution. Resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference would be a step in the right direction.

The USSR staunchly supports the sovereign right of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia to handle their own affairs and shape their future without any outside interference. We resolutely support the efforts of the DRV government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam to secure compliance with the Paris Agreements. The corrupt anti-popular Saigon regime, which has cynically flouted these agreements, is now in a state of total collapse. The outstanding victories of the patriotic forces in South Vietnam, as well as the successes of Cambodia's patriots, open up the prospects of a peaceful life for all the peoples of Indochina. The Soviet people enthusiastically welcome these remarkable successes.

Détente is the subject of acute political and ideological controversy. Our assessment of its course and prospects is one of Leninist realism and is therefore pervaded with historical optimism. Indeed, *détente* is based on a radical change in the alignment of forces in the world arena in favour of peace and socialism. This is a factor of permanent action and truly everlasting significance.

¹ Brezhnev, *op. cit.*, Moscow, 1975, p. 546.

In the conditions of *détente* and further exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism the international communist movement has a still greater role to play as the most influential and active political force of our time. In the capitalist countries the Communists are for unity of all anti-monopoly, leftist forces. They consistently unite the defence of the everyday interests of the masses with the struggle for a democratic alternative to the rule of big capital, for socialist ideals, for deep-going social transformations in the interest of the working people, for the benefit of the majority of the nation.

The present period is marked by further strengthening of the unity of the fraternal parties based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. To use Lenin's words, "full comradely trust" and unity of action between them are being strengthened.

This is expressed, in particular, in the preparation of another conference of the European communist and workers' parties. The forum of European Communists will undoubtedly serve to stimulate the struggle for peace, security, co-operation, and social progress.

Jointly with other democratic public and political trends and all peace supporters, the Communists actively come out for a peaceful future for Europe, broad mutually beneficial ties between states and peoples. The Second Brussels Assembly of Public Forces of Europe, which is to open in a few days, will be an important landmark on this path.

Soviet Communists have always been loyal to the Leninist tradition of contributing in every way to the unity and consolidation of the positions of the international communist movement, the unity of the working class, the rallying of all peace-loving, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces. The Party vigorously supports all initiatives to this effect.

We are confident of the victory of communist ideology and the triumph of the Leninist policy of peace and the security of nations.

The Leninist Party—The Militant Vanguard of the Soviet People

Comrades! All the victories and achievements of the Soviet people, their life, aspirations, and aims are inseparably bound up with the activity of the Communist Party—the great Party of Lenin.

In work and in battle, in days of joy, and in days of severe trials, the Party has invariably been with the people. Each step forward we make on the path towards communism and all Soviet socialist reality testify to the consistent implementation of Lenin's behests. The Party successfully performs its leading and guiding role, which Lenin defined as "*leading the whole people to socialism . . . directing and organising the new system . . . being the teacher, the guide, the leader of all the working . . . people*".¹ By its utter devotion to the people, the Party has won their affection, gratitude, and trust; its prestige among the people is boundless. The ideological and political unity of the Party and people forged and steeled in the decades of struggle for socialism is stronger than ever before.

Lenin evolved an integral and consistent teaching on the working-class party of a new type, its leading role in revolutionary struggle and in the construction and development of socialist society. It has been borne out by the practice of building socialism in the USSR and in the fraternal countries of the socialist community.

The Party's leading role is a fundamental law of socialist society. Only a party uniting the finest representatives of the working people, having a perfect knowledge of advanced theory, and relying on the support of the whole people is capable of setting correct guidelines for social development. It shapes national policy, outlines plans of the people's activities, and organises their fulfilment.

Soviet society is a complex, dynamically developing social organism. Only an organisation of the higher order as a Marxist-Leninist party, a working-class party, which is at the same time the vanguard of the whole people and expresses its interests, aspirations and hopes is in a position to take into account the specific requirements of each class and social stratum, each nation, large or small, and all generations of Soviet society.

All the life of Soviet society is pervaded with genuine socialist democracy. It finds its fullest expression in the multifarious activities of the organs of people's power—the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. Elections to the supreme bodies of the Union republics and all local Soviets of Working People's Deputies will be held in June. They are prepared in a broad election campaign during which the activities of all

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 25, p. 409.

Soviet organs from top to bottom are being reviewed. Millions of Soviet citizens are discussing freely and with a sense of responsibility the work of their elected deputies and the corresponding Soviet bodies. Elections are a striking illustration of Soviet socialist democracy. A noteworthy important distinction of Soviet democracy consists in the fact that the working people's active and conscious participation in the management of all affairs of society is effected not only through government bodies but also through an extensive network of mass public organisations—the trade unions, the Young Communist League, and others.

It is precisely the Party—the organising core of the entire social system—which ensures the purposeful, balanced, and harmonious development of society, the concerted functioning of all its spheres, and the co-ordination of the activities of all government bodies and public organisations. The Party aims at the utmost efficiency in their work.

Carrying out the will of the people, the Party displays constant concern for strengthening the country's defence and its armed forces. We have every reason to assert that the peaceful life of the Soviet people and their achievements and constructive work are reliably protected.

In all its activities the Communist Party is invariably guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, which shows us how to cope with current tasks and foresee the future. The Party has inherited from its teacher and leader loyalty and a creative attitude to the principles of revolutionary theory. It carries out vast theoretical research and constantly enriches revolutionary Marxist-Leninist science, which presents a generalised picture of all the interrelated aspects of social life and shows the correct path along which society advances.

The decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU are a major step in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory. Urgent problems of communist construction and of the present stage in the world revolutionary process are further developed in Party documents and the works of Soviet scientists.

Among the many theoretical problems the Party has been working on during the last few years, the problem of the further development of socialism and its development into communism is of prime importance.

As we know, the conclusion on socialism and communism as the two

phases of communist society was first formulated by Marx in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, which was written 100 years ago, counting from next May. Marx showed the principal features and differences of the two phases of the communist formation and posed the problem of transition from socialism to communism. Lenin developed the teaching of Marx and Engels in this field of major importance in particular, and revealed the principal patterns of the evolution of socialism into communism. But in his time the construction of a new society had just begun, and Lenin did not deem it possible to present a comprehensive description of future socialism but confined himself to pointing out the main directions of its development. In the process of building a new society our Party developed and deepened the Marxist-Leninist teaching on socialism. When the Soviet people led by the Communist Party had built a developed socialist society, the concrete problems of its further progress and transition to communism came up on the order of the day in both the theoretical and practical aspects.

Proceeding from Marx's and Lenin's instructions, the CPSU worked out theoretically the most important principles of developed socialist society. It made a profound and comprehensive scientific analysis of its economic basis, political organisation, and the forms of social consciousness. But the Party does not limit itself to describing realities which already exist. Its documents also present a scientific analysis of the ways of the evolution of socialism into communism and maturing of the future forms of communist society.

Of tremendous importance is the fact that the Party is solving the problem of transition to communism both theoretically and practically not by separate elements but in the whole complex of all economic, socio-political, and ideological aspects and relationships of this intricate historical process.

The Party's theoretical work requires much attention, energy, and a thoughtful attitude on the part of the Party's ideological institutions and workers, organisations, and all Communists. It is a pleasure to note that the fraternal parties of the socialist countries are co-operating more and more closely in working out the problems involved in the continued progress of socialist society.

For Marxist-Leninists theoretical research is not an aim in itself but is called upon to illuminate the path of revolutionary practice. Lenin said in this connection: "The purpose of our theoretical views is to guide us in our revolutionary activities. The best ground to test our theoretical views is the field of militant activity."¹ The building of a communist society, the efforts to fulfil and overfulfil the ninth five-year plan, to implement the Peace Programme and consolidate the positions of world socialism, to promote unity in the international communist movement—such is the field of our militant activity today!

Loyal to Lenin's behests, the Party constantly consolidates the unity of its ranks, and this makes it powerful, invincible, and capable of accomplishing any task. The recent exchange of Party cards demonstrated the Communists' boundless devotion to Lenin's great ideas and cause, their solid unity round the Leninist Central Committee of the CPSU. Membership of the great Leninist Party makes Communists legitimately proud and evokes in them a keener sense of responsibility to it for their activities, for strict and unconditional fulfilment of their obligations, and of Lenin's demand for enhancing steadily the honour and significance of Party membership.

The growth of the Party's leading role implies improvement of all organising and ideological Party work, its forms and methods, and consistent and universal introduction of Lenin's style of work into practice. Its main features are a strictly scientific character, constant ties with the masses, genuine collectivism and personal responsibility for one's assignments, unity of words and deeds, the development of initiative, conscious discipline, and intolerance of shortcomings.

The Party is developing along with the whole country and people. In order to be always able to cope with the tasks facing it, Lenin taught, the vanguard of the working class and of the people must constantly perfect itself. The Party is steadfastly implementing the policy formulated by the 24th CPSU Congress of perfecting the methods of guiding society, improving the qualitative composition of its ranks, and developing intra-Party democracy.

¹ *Lenin Miscellany*, XXXVII, p. 249 (in Russian).

Principled criticism and self-criticism are a component part of intra-Party life, a means of raising the efficiency of Party organisations and the level of Party leadership. Lenin regarded the fact that the Party sets the example of principled, persistent, and bold criticism as a source of its strength and an essential condition for its success. "If we are not afraid of admitting our mistakes", Lenin wrote, "not afraid of making repeated efforts to rectify them—we shall reach the very summit."¹

It would be wrong to presume that in the enormous and complicated work of communist construction today, involving scores of millions of people, there are no shortcomings, mistakes, violations of law and discipline, omissions, bureaucracy, sluggishness, mismanagement, and neglect of duty. Of course, such phenomena can and do exist. Criticism and self-criticism are a time-tested method of fighting them and improving the work of all organisations, as was recently recalled by the CPSU Central Committee in its resolution about the Tambov regional Party organisation. The Central Committee requires of Party organisations a Leninist approach to the practices of sharp, frank criticism and self-criticism, which are assuming ever-growing importance now.

The vanguard role, fighting ability, and the force of the political influence of Party organisations depend directly on the ideological zeal and theoretical competence of their members. The Party attaches paramount importance to the Marxist-Leninist education of Communists through an extensive, well-planned system of various forms of education. The ever alive and developing Leninist teaching is in the focus of the Party's ideological and political life and provides the basis for all its transforming activities. Enormous importance is attached to the publication of Lenin's works in the USSR. During the past five years alone over 92 million copies have been published. Lenin's works are widely read throughout the world. They are published in 125 languages in 63 countries, ranking first in the world among translated publications. Millions of people on all continents learn how to live and struggle from Lenin's books.

The ideological, political, and moral education of Soviet people on

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 33, p. 211.

the principles of Leninism, the raising of the educational and cultural standards of the people's life, the assertion of a communist attitude to work constitute the main content of all our ideological work. The significance and hence the necessity of all-out efforts to step up this work in all its forms and directions are especially great in the present conditions of acute ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism. It is mandatory to continue the relentless struggle against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, bourgeois ideology and revisionism, as well as against harmful survivals of the past, views and morals alien to Soviet society.

The success of the Party's educational work largely depends on the numbers and, what is most important, the training standards of the ideological cadres. The CPSU Central Committee recently worked out a series of measures to train ideological cadres and improve their qualifications. If consistently implemented, these measures will certainly yield positive results and contribute to increasing still more the scope of the Party's ideological work, to deepening its content, and to tightening the links of communist ideas with their practical implementation and to the assimilation of the invincible Marxist-Leninist teaching by the popular masses.

Comrades! Leninism opens before mankind a real view of a communist tomorrow, answering the aspirations and vital interests of the working people in all countries and continents. The practice and the experience of hundreds of millions of people and world history attest to the correctness and vitality of Lenin's great and immortal teaching. It is quite natural, therefore, that more and more contingents of fighters, seeing in Lenin's ideas a guide to action, rally round the banner of Leninism throughout the world every year.

It is a great satisfaction for us to see the entire modern world changing and transforming under the impact of the revolutionary forces equipped with Lenin's victorious ideas. The world socialist system is growing stronger, the working people's struggle for peace and social progress is mounting, and deep-going changes are taking place in the entire system of international relations.

The Soviet Union—Lenin's homeland, a country of developed socialism—grows stronger economically and politically with every new five-

year-plan period, from year to year. The Soviet people's life becomes increasingly secure materially, richer, and more interesting spiritually.

The Soviet people and the Communist Party are now confronted by new complex but inspiring tasks in communist construction, and broader prospects are opening out for the radiant future they are building.

Under Lenin's invincible banner the Soviet people, closely rallied behind the Leninist Party, have won many outstanding victories under its leadership and are confidently building a communist society, blazing the trail for the whole of mankind.

Long live Marxism-Leninism, the ever-alive internationalist teaching of the working class, of the working people of all countries!

Glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the heroic Soviet people advancing under the victorious banner of Leninism to the full triumph of communist ideals!

Part 2

The Development of Soviet Science and Culture

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: THE PARTY'S WEAPON IN BUILDING COMMUNISM

Address to an All-Union Conference of Heads of Social
Science Departments of Higher Educational Establishments
held in Moscow on 21 December 1971

COMRADES,

More than half a year has passed since the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. All the political conclusions and propositions of its proceedings relating to matters of our social development and the perspectives of the world revolutionary process, and the whole international situation, have already demonstrated their viability.

There is every ground for saying that the decisions of the 24th Party Congress have become a militant programme of the practical activity of all Soviet people. The working class, collective farm peasantry, and intelligentsia of our country have made a good start in carrying out the tasks of the new five-year plan. The Soviet Union is marching forward confidently along the road to building of communism.

The international activity of the Soviet state has also been stepped up considerably. After the 24th Congress the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government undertook a number of important actions aimed at improving the international situation, at strengthening the foreign policy positions of our country and of the world community of socialist countries as a whole, and at consolidating peace throughout the world.

The 24th Congress's decisions are thus having a profound effect on events throughout the world, as well as on the life of the Soviet Union. This gives us the right to be increasingly proud of our great Leninist Party and of its genius and collective wisdom.

The appeal of the 24th Congress's decisions stems from their scientific character and the fact that they correctly reflect the pressing needs of communist construction in our land and the trends of world development. By continuing the splendid Leninist traditions the Congress also made a big contribution to the development of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, raised it to a new level, and demonstrated its growing importance in the building of communism.

The November (1971) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee summed up the first results of the work of carrying out the decisions of the Congress. In reviewing the draft of the five-year plan and the most important international matters, the Plenum thereby continued work on the main problems of domestic and foreign policy posed by the 24th Congress.

The Party has always, at all stages of its history, given paramount importance to theory and creative development of Marxist-Leninist teaching in close association with social practice and life, and has fought against underestimating its role, against a narrow pragmatic approach, and against spontaneity and tagging along in the rear. That is a most important condition for a Leninist Party's leading, vanguard role, and an unfailing source of its creative energy.

Today, too, at the present stage of the building of communism, the Party is fully displaying its ability to understand and decide urgent social and political matters properly, to forecast events scientifically, and to outline the right course for its activity.

Marxism-Leninism is a powerful weapon for transforming the world in a revolutionary way as well as of understanding it. That is the solid foundation of the unity of our Party's theory and practice. Marxist-Leninist theory is the scientific basis of all the activity of a Leninist Party on every stretch of the road to communism. It is one of the most powerful driving forces of the building of communism and moulding of the new man: by encouraging the spread of a scientific, communist world outlook, and assisting it, Marxist-Leninist theory plays an essential role in the world struggle between socialism and capitalism and in the development of the world revolutionary process.

A great deal has been done in recent years, as the 24th CPSU Congress

noted, in the field of the theoretical study of a number of major complicated problems of the economic, social, and political development of Soviet society. Together with other fraternal communist parties, the CPSU has worked on fundamental matters of the development of the world system of socialism, has actively investigated the new phenomena of modern capitalism, and has resolved very important problems of the world revolutionary and liberation movement, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory.

We have every ground for saying that we have made definite progress in the field of the social sciences and in the development of all the components of Marxism-Leninism, i.e. philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism. Research projects have become more practical and topical, their theoretical level has been raised, and their links with the practice of building communism strengthened. The fight against bourgeois ideology, anti-communism, and revisionism is being waged more actively. The work of Soviet philosophers, economists, historians, and jurists wins ever wider recognition in the scientific community abroad.

The Party considers, however, that there is still much work to be done in regard to furthering the development of revolutionary theory. Many vitally important problems have only been touched on and await fundamental theoretical treatment. The 24th Congress, taking that into account, pointed out the need for a substantial rise in the standard of work in research and teaching establishments, a strengthening of the social sciences' links with practical Party and government work, and intensification of the ideological and theoretical activity of all Party organisations. The main thing towards which the Congress directed all our social scientists is theoretical work on fundamental matters of the developed socialist society and scientific substantiation of the ways and means of its gradual evolution into communism.

Whatever sphere of public life and activity we take there are many problems whose theoretical development from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism needs to be constantly at the centre of Soviet scientists' attention.

In the economic field we are faced with new tasks in connection with building the material and technical basis of communism, with the processes of the scientific and technical revolution, with improving industrial

management and the planning and forecasting of economic development, with raising the efficiency of production and ensuring a systematic rise in the people's material and cultural standards of living.

In the field of social and political development particularly pressing problems are those of surmounting the existing differences between town and country and between physical and mental work, of the ever closer convergence of socialist nations, of improving the system of education and growth of culture, of consolidating the state and improving socialist democracy. Problems of irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois and revisionist ideologies, matters of the communist education of the working people and of moulding a Marxist-Leninist world outlook in them, are becoming of paramount importance in today's conditions.

In the field of the world economy and international politics, Soviet scientists' attention is drawn to problems of the USSR's reciprocal relations with socialist and capitalist countries and with the states of the Third World, and to problems of a scientific analysis of modern capitalism and its policies, of the solidarity of all progressive forces in the fight against imperialism, and of strengthening the unity of the international communist and working-class movement.

A very important feature of the present stage of development of Soviet socialist society is that the tasks of building communism are being tackled in conditions of the developing scientific and technical revolution. Basing itself on that fact, the 24th Congress posed the Party and people a task of immense importance—that of uniting the advances of the scientific and industrial revolution integrally with the advantages of the socialist economic system, and of developing more broadly the forms inherent in socialism of uniting science and production. The scientific and technical revolution that is developing widely throughout the world is an objective process. In socialist society it can be consciously directed and planned, and goals considered and proposed in advance can be achieved. Real substantiation of the goals that are necessary for developing the economy and clarification of the conditions for realising them are most important tasks for social scientists.

Under socialism scientific and technical progress serves to raise the prosperity and culture of society as a whole and of each person individ-

ually. It is the immediate concern of the broad masses of the working people. An integral linking of the advances of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of our social system will vastly help speed up the building of the material and technical basis of communism, the carrying out of further social reforms, and promote man's all-round development.

Our country has achieved a high level of development of the productive forces. The big shifts in social production have brought about important changes in society's social structure as well. The character of the labour of workers, collective farmers, and the intellectuals has essentially changed. There has been a qualitative leap in growth of the people's education, culture, and political consciousness. All this is creating a new atmosphere in the life of our society that is affecting the character and make-up of the needs of the Soviet people and stimulating an increase in their labour and political activity.

All the social and economic changes that have occurred in our land are the direct result of its socialist development. In addition they constitute a powerful material, political, and spiritual potential such as will help accelerate our movement towards communism. The prime theoretical and practical job of social scientists is to study persistently all the deep-rooted processes of the development of Soviet society and to help the Party and the whole people to employ the new opportunities opening up in the building of communism.

The Party's policy, it was said in the CPSU Central Committee's report to the 24th Congress, is aimed at furthering the convergence of the working class, collective farm peasantry, and intelligentsia, at the gradual overcoming of the essential differences between town and country and between mental and physical labour. This is one of the main sectors of the building of a classless communist society. Profound scientific analysis of the concrete ways of gradually wiping out class distinctions and of consolidating social homogeneity in our society must therefore be a most important task of Soviet sociologists, economists, jurists, historians, and all social scientists.

An ingredient in the building of communism is the moulding of a new man, which presupposes provision of the appropriate conditions (both

material and intellectual), establishment of high ideological and political qualities in people, high standards of communist morality and a communist attitude to work, an uncompromising fight against survivals of the past, and well-conducted propaganda of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. As we see, the moulding of the new man in the course of building communism is in fact a comprehensive problem. Scientists in all the social disciplines are playing an important role in dealing with it.

Social science teachers and lecturers in higher educational establishments face this problem not only as specialists studying its various aspects or passing on a certain body of factual knowledge to their students, but also as educators moulding the consciousness, political convictions, and practical and moral features of the character of fighters for communism. And that demands not only broad knowledge on the part of teachers but also an ability to penetrate into the spiritual world of a person, to help him or her develop a correct, Marxist-Leninist world outlook, and to educate a convinced builder of communism.

The present stage in the building of communism presents the social sciences with a many-sided, complex set of theoretical problems, requiring for their solution the combined efforts of people of the most diverse disciplines, including the natural sciences.

Take, for example, the matter of management in its broadest sense—from the individual undertaking to the vast scale of the whole country. One can say without exaggeration that a scientifically substantiated answer to this problem and further improvement in the whole system of management will be a sure key to the fullest development and implementation of the great advantages and potentialities of socialism, to more effective use of the latest technology and labour, material, and financial resources, and to speeding up progress in all spheres of socialist society. It is clear, therefore, that scientific management of the socialist economy is impossible without further, ever deeper knowledge of the economic laws of socialism and of the mechanism of their operation and application in practical management. Many matters need careful scientific study here, including such problems as the significance of the various levers of industrial management in raising its efficiency and the productivity of social labour, the role of the principle of democratic centralism, proper

territorial distribution of productive forces, and improvement of the organizational structure of management.

The huge growth in the scale of socialist production, and the complexity of the economic, socio-political, technical, cultural, and other tasks being tackled in our society, are presenting extremely high demands on the managerial apparatus and call for full, exact information on the processes being managed, as well as continuous processing and timely and proper use of the data obtained. An acute need to employ new methods and technical means, in particular computers, to process the data obtained and raise the standard of the whole work of the managerial apparatus is already making itself felt.

In this respect many complex problems arise, e.g. the training of personnel who have mastered modern methods and means of management, improvement of economic legislation, and especially clarification of the place and role of production collectives and public organisations in management. The theoretical elaboration of these matters rests on the shoulders of our scientists, and in particular on the workers of the higher schools.

Social relations are being perfected in the course of building communism, the role of production collectives is rising, and new motivations in people's behaviour are taking shape. Problems of improving the efficiency of production and furthering growth of productivity should be closely tied in not only with intensifying the role of economic factors but also with the tasks of all-round development of moral and political stimuli and motivation in labour activity inherent in socialism, with spreading socialist emulation and exchange of advanced experience, and with broad involvement of the working people in deciding all production matters.

Material and moral incentives, the force of public opinion, the innovation and creativity of the masses, socialist democracy, and the political and labour activity of the working people are all closely interconnected under socialism. In order to employ the powerful levers of the creative activity of the millions of working people more fully it is necessary to study them systematically and thoroughly—to shed the bright light of Marxist-Leninist science on their social role. Clearly, here is a field for the efforts of economists, philosophers, sociologists, and scholars in other disciplines.

The fight for truly scientific management of production and scientific organisation of work under socialism has to be combined integrally with development of the masses' self-reliance, with democratic principles, with local initiative, and with a resolute rooting out of bureaucratic ways and formalism.

Workers in social science departments can make a considerable contribution to this most important matter by ensuring better training of new cadres of specialists in management, by concretely analysing the employment of scientific methods in enterprises and institutions, and by taking part in working out theoretical problems of management and better organisation of work.

The building of communism is presenting philosophers, sociologists, economists, and historians with the tasks of making a deep scientific analysis of the radical changes in the social structure of Soviet society, of the process of improving social relations, of the convergence of nations, of the social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution, and of the development of the intellectual life and culture of socialist society.

The Soviet socialist state has had a long and complex path of development. Born in the flames of revolutionary battles as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it has become, with the victory of socialism and fundamental changes in the social structure of society, a state of the whole people. At the same time it was, and will remain as long as classes exist, an instrument of class leadership of society and of implementing a consistently revolutionary, proletarian programme of building communism. The leading role in the Soviet state of the whole people belongs to the working class. The socialist state ensures legality and law and order, centralised management of the economy and social control of work and consumption, strengthening of our defence capability, implementation of all the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens, and provision of optimum conditions for the broad development of democracy.

We have many opportunities at present for a further development of the socialist state system and democracy, and for the broadest involvement of the masses in the management of all society's affairs. It is the duty of Soviet scholars to study these opportunities deeply and thor-

oughly to bring them out, and to draw up scientific recommendations for their best use.

Soviet people are getting ready to mark a notable date in 1972 in a fitting manner—namely, the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This will be an outstanding festival of the friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of our great homeland. The founding and development of a multinational socialist state has world historic significance.

The whole history of the development of national relations in the USSR is one of consistent implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy. The great Lenin worked out a programme for the socialist answer to the nationalities question, which is one of the most acute and difficult of social problems. By carrying out this programme the Communist Party ensured the building of an alliance of nations liberated from the yoke of capital based on full confidence, equality, absence of compulsion, and fraternal unity in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism.

The historical experience of socialist society confirms the truth of Marxist-Leninist teaching on the nationalities question, which stems from the indisputable truth that relations of national hostility, distrust, and suspicion are not innate qualities of man but take shape and develop only in conditions of a class-antagonistic society, a type of society that fosters the principles of exploitation and oppression of man by man in the sphere of relations between nations as well. Wherever class antagonisms have been eliminated and the exploitation of man by man abolished, the social soil for nationalism and chauvinism disappears and favourable conditions are created for the voluntary, gradual convergence, and mutual cultural enrichment of nations, and relations of friendship and co-operation between peoples are born. On the basis of the developed socialism that has been established in our country, an ever closer unity of the peoples of the USSR is coming about as a result of the consistent implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy; their solidarity and cohesion are becoming closer, and their economies, science, and cultures, and all aspects of their life are flourishing.

That does not mean, of course, that survivals of the past in the realm of national relations formed over centuries disappear of themselves

without persistent, systematic work to educate the masses in the spirit of socialist internationalism. The 24th Party Congress, which stressed the importance and urgency of further consolidation of the unity and solidarity of the multinational Soviet people, charged ideological workers with just that task. The task of Soviet scholars is to demonstrate fully the political and socio-economic results of implementing the Party's policy, which is aimed at the flourishing of socialist nations and their gradual convergence and uniting, at the development and improvement of the Soviet state system, at combating any and every sign of nationalism and chauvinism, and at fighting for proletarian internationalism and the friendship of nations.

There are also new tasks in the development of our Party itself corresponding to the new tasks in the building of communism. The broader the scale of the Soviet people's creative activity and the more complex the matters they have to tackle, the greater is the role and responsibility of the Communist Party in leading the masses. The rise in the Party's role at the present stage is intimately linked with raising the level of the masses' political consciousness, broadening democracy, and intensifying demands on social administration, and with the need to improve the communist education of the working people constantly and to enrich Marxist-Leninist theory. The Party is getting wider and wider opportunities in its work to rely on the deductions of science and to make all-round use of the advantages of socialism, of the creative initiative of the working class and all the working people, by pooling their efforts and directing them towards a single goal, that of communism.

The source of the Party's strength and invincibility is its integral unity with the people, the makers of history.

"The unity of interests between the Party and the entire Soviet people [L. I. Brezhnev said at the 24th Party Congress] makes our society invincible and gives it the ability to withstand any test. It is the indissoluble unity between the Party and all the working people that allows us to forge confidently ahead and resolve the most complex tasks."¹

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 125.

The Communist Party's guiding role is one of those fundamental questions of the revolutionary movement and of building a new society that were substantiated and developed in detail by Lenin. A deep-going investigation of this question in present-day conditions, and study of the patterns of the constantly strengthening unity of the CPSU and the working people in the building of communism, and the search for specific ways and means of furthering and consolidating the Party's ties with the broad masses, are tasks calling for the serious attention of our social scientists.

A thorough, clear exposition of the Party's experience and heroic history is of great significance in educational work among young people and students. To demonstrate the special features, the links and continuity between the various stages of the Party's history, its unswerving loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, its sympathetic attitude to glorious traditions and encouragement of innovation, and its growing leading role is to inculcate a progressive, Party consciousness in the young, a feeling of love for and devotion to the cause that Communists of older generations have dedicated their lives to, and a sense of historical responsibility for its triumph. Any formalism in this, any conventionality and stereotyped ways, pedantry and dogmatism, even in the slightest degree, is intolerable. For it is a matter of the most important thing in our lives, namely our ideals and our communist future, which will be made real by the work of new generations.

Our Party is part of the international communist movement. It is therefore natural that it pays much attention in its work to urgent matters of the world revolutionary process, to working out fundamental questions concerning the development of the world system of socialism, to analysing modern imperialism, and to studying the character of socio-economic reforms in developing countries.

The 24th Congress did much to give a theoretical substantiation to the prospects for the development of the world system of socialism. It stressed that the community of social system and coincidence of basic interests of the peoples of socialist countries determine the leading historical trend in their convergence and uniting. In that connection it is very important to demonstrate both the objective, natural character of the compre-

hensive convergence of socialist countries and their peoples' vital interest in strengthening the solidarity of the world system of socialism, to show what powerful reserves are inherent in their economic potential and in the immense opportunities for joint utilisation of the results of the scientific and technical revolution. The task facing social scientists in this connection, to more fully investigate the patterns and trends in the international socialist division of labour, is quite understandable, and also that of bringing out the long-term prospects of economic integration and of clarifying the ways and means for increasing the efficiency of the developing world socialist economy.

We know very well, at the same time, that the process of socialist economic integration has its difficulties, which arise from the actual differences in levels of economic development and social structure, national features of one kind and another, and the international position of the different socialist countries. The CPSU and other fraternal parties have indicated the ways and means for overcoming these difficulties, emphasising in so doing that it is impossible to build and develop socialism successfully if one ignores its general laws and patterns.

All this found expression in the Comprehensive Programme of socialist economic integration adopted by the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The proceedings of the 24th Congress clearly indicated how enormously important it is to analyse the ways and forms of world socialism's impact on the development of the non-socialist part of the world. The group of newly independent states that are taking the non-capitalist road of development is getting stronger. In several lands experience has already been gained in restructuring social relations on a non-capitalist basis, and the preconditions are being provided for a gradual transition to socialist development. Given that, it is becoming very important to study the forms and methods of cooperation between socialist and developing countries and the factors promoting a deepening of the latter's socialist orientation.

Experience is confirming the correctness of the 24th Congress's conclusion about the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Modern capitalism is striving to adapt itself to the changing conditions of social development. The monopolies are widely employing the advances of the

scientific and technical revolution to maintain their positions and intensify exploitation, and resorting to more camouflaged, more subtle method, of oppressing the working people, but that does not resolve the basic contradictions of the capitalist system or eliminate its incurable ills. A wave of class battles is mounting in the citadels of capitalism, and its internal socio-economic and political antagonisms are becoming ever more acute. Inter-imperialist contradictions are intensifying. The capitalist world now finds itself in the quagmire of the worst monetary crisis of the post-war years and is experiencing a considerable drop in rates of economic development.

Marxism-Leninism provides a scientific explanation of these symptoms and so helps the revolutionary movement and anti-imperialist forces. The need for comprehensive study of the new phenomena and deep-rooted processes developing in the capitalist world is now making itself felt more and more acutely. Our social sciences have to make a detailed analysis of the socio-political and economic situation in capitalist countries, to demonstrate the leading revolutionary role of the working class in the anti-imperialist movement, and in uniting all strata of the working people in the struggle for peace, social progress, and the socialist restructuring of society.

Our Party's theoretical elaboration, jointly with the other fraternal parties, of such matters as the convergence at the present time of the democratic and socialist tasks of the revolutionary struggle, the proper combination of peaceful and non-peaceful forms of revolution, and the possibilities of a non-capitalist road of development for former colonial countries, is of great significance for the entire communist movement.

The tasks of furthering unity and solidarity of the ranks of the communist movement are making it necessary for the social sciences to study the forms and methods of co-operation of fraternal parties, problems of each communist and workers' party's national and international responsibility and of heightening their ideological and political role in the world revolutionary process.

In our epoch of confrontation of the two world systems, socialism and capitalism, there is an inevitable sharpening of the ideological struggle, and its spreading to all spheres of social life including science. Our social

scientists have been fighting bourgeois ideology, anti-communism, and revisionism more skilfully and profoundly in recent years, but their efforts still lag behind the demands presented to them by our Party. As the 24th Congress noted:

"Criticism of bourgeois and revisionist attacks on our theory and practice becomes much more convincing when it is founded on the active and creative development of the social sciences of Marxist-Leninist theory."¹

Creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory as the basis for intensifying the fight against bourgeois ideology in all its manifestations is one of the most important tasks of our social sciences.

In order to do this successfully social scientists should rely to the maximum on the theoretical heritage of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and uphold and develop the main principles of our revolutionary teaching, taking into account the facts of present-day science and social practice.

At the same time the forms and methods of our fight against hostile ideology need to be perfected. To the lies and slander, deception of the masses, and pandering to and exploiting of prejudices widely employed by reactionary ideologists, we counterpose the strength of truthfulness, objective scientific analysis, and the truth. But it is a great art to bring this truth to the broad masses and familiarise them with it; an art that it is necessary to master to the full.

The rising role of science in the life of modern society is making the scientist's social orientation and social responsibility, his world outlook, and political stand a very acute problem. A proper understanding of Party commitment in science is most important in this respect. Marxist-Leninist Party commitment is consistent adherence to the principle of a scientific, objectively true analysis of social phenomena. At the same time it orientates scientists to take the most correct social and class stand, to link science with the interests of the working class's and all working people's revolutionary struggle, and with the tasks of building communism.

A most important condition of fruitful development and effective use

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 124.

of the social sciences in the building of communism is their fidelity to Marxist-Leninist methodology, a creative approach to the elaboration of current problems, and co-operation with other spheres of scientific knowledge.

The 24th Congress put forward the task of making a more decisive turn in the social sciences towards working on the pressing problems of the building of communism, matters that are urgent for the present and the future of our land. The conversion of science into a direct productive force and a necessary means of controlling economic and social processes requires scientists to take the needs of practice more deeply and concretely into account, and to design their research in accordance with its demands. Such research often requires a comprehensive analysis of the economic, social, political, and other aspects of a question. The recommendations of scientific institutions prepared on the basis of such detailed research are therefore the most valuable and best substantiated. The question of organising comprehensive investigations in all the most important directions of the social sciences is coming to the forefront in our day.

For detailed research and solution of the complex problems of the social sciences it is more and more necessary to join forces with the natural and applied sciences. The co-operation of scientists of various spheres of knowledge is a *sine qua non* of the fruitful development of Soviet science. We must also continue to strengthen the alliance of natural and social scientists and so fulfil the great Lenin's behest.

In the light of the tasks facing science today, Lenin's teaching on dialectics as the world outlook and method of modern science and practice is becoming particularly topical. He noted:

"The application of materialist dialectics to the reshaping of all political economy from its foundations up, its application to history, natural science, philosophy, and to the policy and tactics of the working class—that was what interested Marx and Engels most of all, that was where they contributed what was most essential and new, and that was what constituted the masterly advance they made in the history of revolutionary thought".¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 554.

Many new attacks are being made these days on materialist dialectics, which is, as Lenin wrote, the "living soul" of Marxism. To this end "left" revisionist, Maoist vulgarisation of dialectics joins forces with right opportunist revisionism. Our Party and other communist and workers' parties are developing Marxist-Leninist dialectics in resolute struggle against the open and disguised enemies of Marxism-Leninism, and are applying it creatively to revolutionary practice. The successful treatment of fundamental matters of social development in the proceedings of the 24th Congress is an example of brilliant application of the method of materialist dialectics in social practice and of the great art of mastering this sharpest of the weapons of scientific communism.

Unity and interaction of theory and practice are being achieved on the basis of Marxist-Leninist dialectics; and co-operation of the social and natural sciences is also being realised on its basis.

Very complex, responsible tasks consequently face the social sciences. Coping with them calls for a substantial improvement in the quality, profundity, and ideological and political Party pointedness of research on the part of our scientists. This matter is closely linked with that of the organisation of the work of research institutes and faculties of higher schools, and with the standard of researchers and lecturers who have charge of the keen, searching minds of young people not tolerating any bigotry and sluggishness.

I would like to emphasise this point: that the new tasks the Party is putting before the social sciences call for new forms both of planning the work of scientists of the social science departments of higher schools and research institutes and of their co-operation, for raising the standards of our faculties, and for drawing young forces into research who would work in collaboration with the older generation of experienced researchers and teachers. The USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialised Secondary Education should obviously take the necessary steps to improve the co-ordination, specialisation, and co-operation of scientific forces, especially in tackling the most important problems being brought forward by the practice of building communism.

In speaking about the research of social science departments, we must note that they have their own goals not only in the development of science

itself and the solution of various theoretical problems, but also in enriching the teaching process, raising its theoretical standards, and improving teaching methods. The teaching process naturally must take into account the new facts obtained in the field of the social, natural, and applied sciences, the pressing current problems of the development of modern society, and the practice of building communism.

The growing role of the social sciences is putting higher demands on the standard of their teaching in higher schools and on intensifying the Marxist-Leninist education of Soviet students. Unfortunately, we still come up against the practice in some colleges whereby the study of Marxist-Leninist theory and methodology by students and postgraduates boils down to the study of popular pamphlets and commentaries. (This literature is useful as a study aid but not as basic material.) We must end this kind of oversimplified approach to education. Training in Marxism-Leninism must be based on students' and postgraduates' profound assimilation of the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and of the Party's reports and resolutions. Can it be that the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin are not comprehensible to students? That would be a profoundly mistaken idea. Even in the old Workers' Faculties students coped quite successfully with Volume One of *Capital*, not to mention works like the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, *The State and Revolution*, and *What Is To Be Done?* Lecturers must teach their students how to study the classics of Marxism-Leninism, for without that it is impossible to master this great ideological birthright of ours.

While setting new, more complex tasks for the social sciences the Party is at the same time constantly concerned to train cadres in the realm of social studies and to raise the standard of teaching of the social sciences in our country as an important ingredient of the great cause of communist education of the working people.

Social science departments have now been staffed with trained personnel with deep theoretical knowledge and high professional standards. More than 13,000 doctors and candidates of science are now working in them. Never before have the higher schools disposed of such social science staff.

The Communist Party and its Central Committee highly appreciate the generous, complicated, often self-sacrificing work of the higher

schools' social science teachers. They are bringing Marxist-Leninist knowledge and communist ideas to the millions of Soviet students who are replenishing the ranks of the people's intelligentsia. Lecturers are doing a great job, together with the Party organisations of higher educational institutions, to train students in a spirit of deep devotion to the socialist homeland, firm conviction of the truth of the great cause of communism, and irreconcilability towards any sign of bourgeois ideology, and are helping them mould their convictions and a scientific Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

The achievements of the Soviet higher school are well known and enjoy world recognition. We can say that the staffs of social science departments are making a weighty contribution to these achievements, but they have broad, still unutilised opportunities to improve and perfect teaching of the social sciences and for dealing with problems of Marxist-Leninist theory.

In order to put Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory before students with all its vital force, social science teachers need to be in the front rank of the ideological struggle and to assimilate the achievements of Marxist-Leninist thought. Central to this is theoretical comprehension and propaganda of the decisions of the 24th Congress. The best way of coping with that will be to ensure the overcoming of the still existing relics of a dogmatic, scholastic attitude to theory, and of obsolete, old-fashioned teaching methods.

In noting the progress made in teaching of the social sciences in higher schools we must also comment on certain defects in the situation. We know that the number of social science teachers who lack specialised training is growing in several higher schools. The training of personnel in postgraduate departments urgently needs improvement. It is high time the problems of further improving the system of refresher courses for social science teachers were solved. Without systematic deepening of their knowledge and teaching skill we cannot cope successfully with the complicated tasks of the communist education of future specialists. Raising the qualifications of lecturers is a continuous process calling for the development and implementation of a whole set of measures to stimulate their scientific growth and teaching skill and to provide the necessary conditions.

A rise in the standard of social science teaching is a matter of first-rate national importance. One of the main ways of achieving it is to strengthen the links between the teaching of the social sciences and the practice of building communism both on the level of society as a whole and within the walls of each teaching establishment. In that connection the involvement of students in the work of research groups and theoretical conferences and the holding of student competitions in the social sciences have a major role to play. In the higher schools future specialists pass through a real school of civic maturation, mastery of the skills of political and organisational work with people, and of independence of creative thought. Evidence of students' growing social and political activity is the work of student-building brigades, design and construction offices, and the involvement of students in agitation and mass work among the working people. Each student's participation in socially useful work and the fulfilment of social assignments is an integral part of the process of teaching and training them.

In coping with the tasks put before social science departments by the decisions of the 24th Congress, the Party organisations of higher educational establishments have an important role to play. The granting to college and research institute Party organisations of the right to check on the work of the administration and the creative application of tried and tested forms and methods of Party work will enable them to cope more and more successfully with the important tasks that are coming to the fore today.

Fulfilment of the 24th Congress's decisions by the Party organisations and social science departments of higher educational institutions will undoubtedly promote a decisive raising of the standards of social science teaching in the Soviet higher school, which is training highly qualified specialists who consciously give their strength, energy, and talent to the cause of building communism.

The Central Committee of the CPSU attaches great importance to development of the social sciences, to improving their teaching, and to raising their role in the building of communism. It is confident that Soviet scientists will untiringly develop Marxist-Leninist science and actively propagate its great ideas.

THE CIVIC DUTY OF SOVIET SCIENTISTS

Address to the General Meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences, held to elect a new President, 25 November 1975

COMRADES,

As you will recall, the general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences in May of this year prolonged the powers of the Presidium of the Academy and decided to hold elections of its governing bodies in November. That time has now come. It is incumbent on you to elect the President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, a new Presidium, and the leading councils of the departments, the member-secretaries and bureaux of departments, which have the job of directly guiding the work of research institutions towards dealing with the most promising and important problems of modern science.

The Central Committee of the Party has attentively studied these matters, above all the Presidential candidature. Relying on the advice of scientists, and giving careful consideration to their wishes, we have concluded that a worthy candidate for the high, responsible post of President of the Academy of Sciences is Anatoly Petrovich Alexandrov, full member of the Academy, thrice Hero of Socialist Labour, Lenin and State Prize winner, and member of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Academician Alexandrov is widely known in our country and abroad as an outstanding scientist in the field of atomic energy and nuclear engineering, as a prominent organiser of science, and as a public figure. All members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, scientists, and Soviet people know him well.

A. P. Alexandrov combines the qualities of a brilliant specialist in

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET SCIENCE AND CULTURE

one of the most complicated fields of fundamental science with broad scientific knowledge in many other fields, and has great experience of organising joint work with industry. For many years he has been leading major scientific groups. Thanks to all these qualities A. P. Alexandrov is a most authoritative scientist and capable of heading the complex, many-sided work of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The scale of the Academy's work is truly immense. We have all had occasion to see that once again during the nationwide ceremonies celebrating its 250th anniversary. The jubilee ceremonies demonstrated the outstanding role of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the building of communism and its splendid contribution to the world treasury of knowledge. The progress of Soviet science has received the deservedly high appreciation of our Party, of the whole Soviet people, and of the scientific community. In the speeches at the jubilee sessions, particularly in the speech of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, these outstanding achievements were given a vivid description.

The celebration of the Academy's jubilee demonstrated the high civic, public activity of scientists and of all the workers of Soviet science, their patriotism, and their dedication to the great cause of building communism. The jubilee ceremonies also helped people to grasp many special features of today's scientific developments.

Our land has made a truly immense step towards the future in the years since the 24th Congress of the Party. These have been years of intense creative work by our people, of struggle for further growth of the country's economy, to consolidate the international prestige of the Soviet state and of the whole socialist community, and to affirm the ideals of peace.

Characteristic features of this period have been the unprecedented growth in the role of science in public life and in the development of the productive forces, the intensification of research, and the strengthening of science's links with life and practice.

The Party attaches paramount importance to fundamental research in both the natural and the social sciences, research that is the basis for the development of all the sciences, for scientific and technical progress, and for understanding the laws of social development. Fundamental

research and its results have a profound effect on all aspects of human activity, on raising the efficiency of social production, on the social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution, and on the building of new highroads of scientific and technical progress.

We are well aware, comrades, that it is the USSR Academy of Sciences, as the country's supreme scientific institution, that is responsible for the development of fundamental science.

At the same time the growing significance of scientific research is putting qualitatively new demands on science.

At the ceremonial session for the Academy's jubilee, Comrade Brezhnev stressed that responsible new tasks, gigantic in scope, face scientific workers at the present time.

"The Party [he said] expects ever deeper, bolder study of new processes and phenomena by scientists, an active contribution to the cause of scientific and technical progress, serious analysis of the problems arising, responsible recommendations on the best ways to resolve them so as to strengthen the country's power and make the people's life better, and in the interests of building communism."¹

And today, in preparing for the Party's 25th Congress, we and all Soviet people need to sum up some of the results of the work done and to outline the tasks for developing Soviet society in the future. Analysis of the existing state of affairs and discussion of the future outlook are particularly important in science because scientific and technical progress is becoming a key area of social development in our country.

Comrade Brezhnev presented a developed programme of activity for Soviet scientific workers. The directions and forms of work both of the Academy and of all its scientific collectives need to be elaborated and determined by all of you, together with the Academy's new leadership. Perhaps it would be useful to do that in the form of a concrete plan containing a list of the major and most important measures. Such a plan should be based on a serious, critical analysis of the present state and organisation of research, and of the problems of directing scientific

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course, Speeches and Articles*, Vol. 5, Moscow, 1976, p. 366 (in Russian).

institutions. We expect active work from you, comrades, to decide the tasks that are of paramount importance for the further development of Soviet science.

You are well aware that the Academy's institutes have grown substantially in recent years: the number of associates has increased, the technical equipping of research has been raised to new, higher levels, its material base has been broadened, and its cadres have become highly qualified. All that was to be expected. But in addition, it is becoming more and more urgent to make scientific institutions give a better return and to raise the effectiveness of their work. In entering on the new five-year plan, the plan of higher quality, we must also improve quality and productivity in science. We have to rivet the attention of scientists' collectives on applying fundamental research in practice, on linking research more closely with the needs of the material production sphere, and on deciding the practical tasks of building communism.

Another important direction of the work facing us is to improve the management and direction of all the Academy's institutions, which should form a single, co-ordinated, efficiently functioning system. This applies to the Academies of the Union republics, the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the newly founded scientific centres and branches of the USSR Academy. These units of the Academy have qualified scientific cadres and a substantial material base at their disposal, and are making a big contribution not only to the working out of major scientific problems but also to the successful solution of fundamentally important matters of development of the productive forces of various regions of the Soviet Union. Their work must be made even more active and their links with the Academy's institutes and departments strengthened.

The USSR Academy of Sciences should actually, in essence, unite and direct the activity of the Academies of the Union republics and of scientific centres and branches. It is quite necessary, comrades, to employ this immense scientific potential now at the Academy's disposal fully and to the optimum.

There are also shortcomings, of course, in the work of the Academy's institutes and in the direction of their work, and unresolved problems that are reducing the effectiveness of research.

SELECTED SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

The Academy's new Presidium will thus have to work out and implement an important programme of activity for the Academy in the new period.

A reliable, tested compass for coping with all the tasks facing Soviet science is dedication to the cause of the Party and people, service to science for the sake of the flourishing of our homeland. Active involvement in the struggle for lofty communist ideals, creative zeal, and boldness of thought—these signal qualities of Soviet scientists will be the pledge of new victories and achievements of Soviet science, of your achievements, dear comrades.

Permit me on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee to wish you success in your work.

THE ARTIST'S LOFTY MISSION

Address at a Gala Meeting of the USSR Academy of Arts on
27 December 1975 on the Occasion of its Investiture with the
Order of Lenin

DEAR COMRADES,

The USSR Academy of Arts and its fruitful work have been marked by our country's highest decoration, the Order of Lenin. Allow me to perform an honourable and pleasant duty, that of conveying to you, the whole collective of the Academy, the sincere congratulations of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Soviet Government, and personally of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

The Leninist Party highly appreciates the work of the artist, considering it an important contribution to the great cause of all Soviet people, i.e. the building of communist society.

The Soviet people are now tackling tasks, under the tested leadership of the Party, that are revolutionary in their essence and immense in their scale. The forthcoming 25th Congress of the CPSU will be a new historical milestone on the road to building the material and technical basis of communist society, further perfecting of social relations, and growth of the people's prosperity and culture.

At the centre of all the social transformations in our country stands Soviet Man—worker and creator. The conditions of developed socialist society are putting ever higher demands on the ideological and political, occupational, and professional, and moral qualities of the builder of communism. The moulding of these qualities is a most important task

of the whole system of ideological education, including the sphere of artistic culture.

The USSR Academy of Arts has made, and is making, an outstanding contribution to the development of culture, to the treasury of Soviet art and to the education of the new man. As a creative and scholarly art organisation it fights consistently to raise the Soviet fine arts, in all their forms, on the basis of the principles of socialist realism. It bases itself, in its work, firmly on the democratic traditions of Russian realist art. A host of great artists and architects—Alexander Ivanov, Bryullov, Bazhenov, Zakharov, Kramskoy, Repin, Surikov, Serov, Vasnetsov, and others—constitute the pride of the Academy and our whole native culture.

The Great October Revolution opened vast horizons to artists for truly free creation and provided all the conditions for the flowering of the people's talents. The treasures of art became accessible to millions of Soviet people. The leading masters of the Soviet fine arts directed their work to tackling root problems of socialist artistic culture.

In 1947, by decision of the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Russia Academy of Arts was transformed into the USSR Academy of Arts. Into it came masters of various nationalities with whose creative work the moulding of our art and its main stages are linked. Suffice it to recall the names of Vera Mukhina, Boris Ioganson, Yevgeny Vuchetich, Arkady Plastov, Sergei Konenkov, Sergei Merkurov, Alexander Gerasimov, Sergei Gerasimov, Alexander Deineka, Martiros Saryan, Igor Grabar, Konstantin Yuon, Vladimir Favorsky, Matvei Manizer, Alexei Shovkunenko, Pyotr Konchalovsky, Teodors Zalkalns, and Yakov Nikoladze.

The Academy's multinational character has always corresponded to the needs of the development of the cultures of all our republics. It is being continually reinforced by artists who have augmented the wealth of Soviet multinational culture, permeated with the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism.

"Soviet culture [L. I. Brezhnev has said] is socialist in content, in its main trend of development, is varied in national form and inter-

nationalist in spirit and character. It is thus an organic fusion of the spiritual riches being created by all the Soviet nations."¹

There is no field of the fine arts that has not been enriched by the Academy's artists. They work actively in the creative unions, in art and science institutions, and in teaching establishments. Eleven outstanding artists have been awarded the high title of Hero of Socialist Labour, twenty have become laureates of the Lenin Prize. Among the Heroes and laureates are the artists Nikolai Tmsky, Mikhail Anikushin, Alexander Kibalnikov, Lev Kerbel, Gediminas Jokubonis, Stepan Pimenov, Mikhail Kupriyanov, Porfiry Krylov, and Nikolai Sokolov (the Kukryniksy), and Vassily Kasiyan. Seventy fine art workers have been awarded the honorary title of People's Artist of the USSR. Many members of the Academy have been elected to Soviets as deputies.

One has the right to say today that the Academy's masters are fulfilling their creative and social duty with honour. They have created works that have gained the recognition and love of the people. The best of them have been commended for their high mastery and standard of artistic generalisation and have become classics of modern world art, genuine memorials of our age. Soviet people justly include among them such works as Vera Mukhina's *Worker and Collective Farm Girl*, Yevgeny Vuchetich's *Soviet Soldier-Liberator*, Boris Ioganson's *Interrogation of Communists*, Alexander Deineka's *The Defence of Petrograd*, Vladimir Serov's *Delegates with Lenin*, Sergei Gerasimov's *Partisan's Mother*, Arkady Plastov's *Nazi Plane Flew By*, Matvei Manizer's *Zoya*, Pavel Korin's portraits, and Ural Tansykbayev's landscapes.

Dear Comrades, I am not able, it goes without saying, to name all the outstanding masters of the Academy of Arts whose creative work has enriched the Soviet fine arts. The list is very long. Today, on this auspicious occasion, we are paying our due to all the artists of our country.

At the dawn of Soviet power the great Lenin put forward a plan for monumental propaganda, a programme of active involvement of the fine arts in the country's public life. The Academy's members play a

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, pp. 72-73.

prominent role in carrying out Lenin's plan. Their work depicts the Soviet people's historic march and embodies the fire and passion of social ideals.

The image of immortal Lenin has received profound, talented solution in monumental propaganda. The Academy's masters have erected majestic ensembles dedicated to the feat of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. A broad portrait gallery of Heroes of the Soviet Union, Heroes of Socialist Labour, outstanding generals and soldiers, scientists, and workers in industry and agriculture has been created and vividly reveals the rich spiritual world of Soviet Man—a patriot of his homeland.

As Soviet society develops, the artistic principle is penetrating ever deeper into our life and affecting people's work and living. The image of towns and villages is changing. The Soviet people's aesthetic requirements are rising. Communism should make the world around us beautiful and worthy of man. These lofty tasks call for a constant quest for new forms, for a strengthening of the links of artistic creation with the life of the people and the building of communism.

Masters of the fine arts are working constantly on a model solution of architectural-sculptural ensembles, Metro stations, and international exhibitions, and are promoting the development of industrial design and of folk arts and crafts.

The fine arts are not simply a chronicle of the people's history and their present achievements but are also an educator capable of moulding and developing the human personality. Soviet painting has a special place in that. Its masters have depicted typical images of our contemporaries, have created outstanding specimens of portrait and genre art. The beautiful image of the Motherland transformed by the work of Soviet Man has been revealed in numerous landscapes. Our political cartooning, easel-painting, and book and journal illustration, whose high achievements are known throughout the world, combine vivid publicist skill with a profound ideological and artistic appraisal.

The Academy of Arts has done much to develop Soviet art studies and criticism. A whole number of fundamental works have been prepared in its institutes on problems of the theory and history of art. Generalisation of the experience of the art of socialist realism, analysis of the patterns of contemporary art, study of progressive foreign work, and irrecon-

cilable struggle against bourgeois ideology—such are the main trends of the work of art critics and historians.

Several generations have already come to the fine arts. They are showing their work with success at exhibitions and enriching our country's spiritual culture. The joint and fruitful co-operation of the Academy of Arts and the Union of Artists is directed to heightening attention to the young artists, to providing the conditions needed for growth of their professional mastery and skill, and for their ideological education. It is the duty of masters of the older generation to discover and mould young talents, to develop in them the sense of the typical in our life and the ability to find the best forms for its artistic expression.

Socialist art is relatively young. But it is developing fast and is growing stronger along with the development of society. The source of its life-giving force is its high ideological content and organic link with the life of the people. This was shown by the jubilee exhibition of the USSR Academy of Arts. The works shown there were of a high aesthetic value that vividly and robustly depicted the country's history and the heroics of our reality.

Soviet art, marching in the vanguard of the progressive culture of modern times, embodies advanced ideals and serves the cause of peace and friendship between nations. With every year its international standing and effect on world art are growing. The Academy's contacts with foreign masters of realist art are being strengthened. Outstanding representatives of the artistic culture of a number of countries are its honorary members. More use should be made of existing opportunities for uniting leading art workers in the name of peace, democracy, and progress.

Relaxation of international tension does not mean a weakening of the ideological struggle, which was and remains one of the forms of class struggle and which does not get any weaker given peaceful coexistence of states with different social and political systems. Confrontation in the cultural field is now taking on ever more complicated forms. For all the diversity of the various trends of reactionary bourgeois art, it is united in its class essence and world outlook. Propaganda of militarism, violence, amorality, and racism—that is the whole arsenal of bourgeois pseudo-culture.

Socialist realism in principle rejects formalism, decadence, primitivism, and absence of ideological content in art. It is developing in constant struggle with them on the basis of Lenin's principles of Party commitment and devotion to the people. Imitation of the formalist, modernist trends generated by the degenerate bourgeois culture is foreign to the Soviet artist. Also unacceptable to us are the false revisionist theories that wipe out the boundaries between socialist and bourgeois art and preach "realism without limits" and the idea of rejecting realist traditions. Various kinds of vulgarised ideas that camouflage their reactionary content in leftist phraseology, endeavour to denigrate the best achievements of world culture, and proclaim slogans of the destruction of art, are also hostile and alien to Soviet art.

Marxist-Leninist teaching, creatively developed by our Party, provides the key to understanding contemporary social processes and the paths of development both of society and of its culture. Art is an enormous force emotionally influencing man, thrilling him, and inspiring him. Soviet artists employ this force for propaganda of the advanced ideas of modern times.

Dear Comrades, The award of the Order of Lenin to the USSR Academy of Arts is recognition of the principled correctness of its road and of its progress along that road. At the same time it raises your Academy's responsibility for the fate and development of the Soviet fine arts. The responsibility of every artist to society is growing in the conditions of the building of communism. One of the most important tasks of the Academy and of the USSR Union of Artists is to raise the ideological standard of creative work and of professional demands still higher.

Socialist realism is not only the present of our art but also its future. Soviet painters, sculptors, and graphic artists have an exceptionally generous and exacting public. The Party and the people are convinced that this high decoration will inspire all artists to create outstanding new works that will find their place in the treasury of Soviet multinational culture.

The decorating of the USSR Academy of Arts with the Order of Lenin is a memorable event in the development of all the Soviet fine arts, and a festival of all our culture.

OUR AGE: THE EPOCH OF THE TRIUMPH OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Address to the Annual Meeting of the USSR Academy
of Sciences, 17 March 1976

COMRADES,

Permit me, first of all, to express my sincere thanks to the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences for bestowing on me the high honour of the Gold Medal that bears the name of Karl Marx, the great teacher and leader of the working class and founder of scientific communism.

The institution of this medal in our country symbolises the single line of creative development of Marxism and the ever growing significance of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

Among the host of social doctrines known in human history none can compare with Marxism-Leninism in the depth of its revolutionary effect on social development. And that is as it must be. Marxism-Leninism, organically combining a high, rigorous, scientific character with a revolutionary one, corresponds most fully to the pressing needs of life and social progress, and is a powerful ideological weapon of the most advanced class of modern times, the working class, in its fight to emancipate society from exploitation and oppression, and in its struggle for socialism and communism.

Lenin saw the immortal service of Marx and Engels to humanity in their disclosing by an all-embracing economic, social, and political analysis of capitalism the world historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society. Marx and Engels demonstrated that the revolutionary proletariat is the grave-digger of capitalism and the creator of a new

society by virtue of its social position, political consciousness, good organisation, and class solidarity.

In *Capital*, Karl Marx made a detailed study of the economy of bourgeois society, of the uniformities and antagonistic contradictions inherent in it, and of the mechanism of capitalist exploitation, and disclosed the inevitability of class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. He showed incontrovertibly that capitalism objectively, in the course of its evolution, creates the material and social prerequisites for the revolutionary overthrow of the exploiter system and the transition to socialism.

Having creatively assimilated the achievements of previous science and culture and profoundly studied economic and other social processes and theoretically generalised the experience of the proletariat's emancipation struggle, Marx and Engels made a great revolution in social thought, and laid the unshakeable foundations for the working class's consistently scientific, materialist, revolutionary world outlook. They gave scientific proof that it is the proletariat who, by emancipating itself, will emancipate all society, because its class aspirations coincide with the vital interests of all working people and with the onward march of history. They thus converted socialism from a Utopian idea into a science, disclosed the real ways of affirming communist ideals, and were able to answer the basic questions thrown up by the whole course of historical development.

By developing the method of materialist dialectics Marx and Engels armed both the social and the natural sciences with a doctrine of development in its fullest and most profound form and gave a scientific analysis of the perspectives of social development and of society's advance towards communism.

Marx and Engels were not only scientists of genius. They were leaders of the international proletariat. Considering science as a revolutionary force in the highest sense of the term, they armed the working class with a revolutionary teaching, and worked out the most important principles of the proletariat's political organisation. The founders of scientific communism also showed how to combine revolutionary theory with the practical activity of the mass working-class movement. Having founded

international revolutionary organisations—the League of Communists and the First International—under the slogan “Workers of All Countries, Unite!”, Marx and Engels laid the basis of the international communist movement and placed the elaboration of the strategy and tactics of the working-class struggle on a scientific footing.

The subsequent period of world history has confirmed with new, incontrovertible force the genius and truth of Marx's and Engels's teaching on the world historic mission of the working class in overthrowing capitalism and building communist society, and their deduction that it is the working class that is the most advanced, most revolutionary force of social progress. History brought Marxism an unparalleled triumph, a triumph inseparably linked with the name of Lenin, with the theory and practice of Leninism, with the victory of socialism originally in our country and then in a number of others, with the outstanding success of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class, and with the liberation movement of all peoples.

Lenin brilliantly revealed the essence of the new period, that of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, of mankind's transition to socialism and communism. He not only defended Marxism in new historical conditions against the attacks of the working class's enemies but also developed it profoundly on the basis of world historic revolutionary practice and the achievements of science, and raised the teaching of Marx and Engels to a new, higher level in the unity of its components, i.e. philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism.

Lenin's ideas found practical confirmation in the flames of three Russian revolutions and in the development of the international communist movement. They have been embodied in the activity of our Party, which led the masses confidently to the storming of autocracy and capitalism, and headed the process of building socialism and communism after the victory of the Great October Revolution.

By generalising the experience of the October Revolution and the first steps in building socialism in our land Lenin developed the Marxist doctrine of socialism and communism, armed the Party with a thoroughly grounded, scientific plan for building socialism, brought out the international significance of the Great October Revolution and of the socialist

reforms in the USSR, and laid the theoretical basis of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

Lenin worked out the most important problems of the world revolutionary process in conditions of the struggle of the two systems, and substantiated the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement.

All the experience of modern times incontrovertibly demonstrates that Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, of the period of the collapse of colonialism and the victory of national liberation movements, of the period of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and the building of communist society.

That is why the ever lasting, revolutionary, continuously developing, scientific communist world outlook is inseverably linked in our day with the name of Lenin, the genius who continued the teaching and work of Marx and Engels, and is rightly called Marxism-Leninism. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Marxism has been unthinkable without Leninism, or apart from Leninism, and without everything that the great Lenin contributed to the treasury of the Marxist world outlook.

One can say with every justification that the revolutionary renewal of the world begun by the Great October Revolution is the real embodiment of Lenin's ideas, and the result of their powerful, ever increasing effect on the future of mankind. Lenin's conclusion that the socialist revolution in Russia opened a new era in human history—the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale—has been fully confirmed.

Lenin's deduction that imperialism signified an extreme sharpening of economic and political contradictions and an intensification of all forms of social and national oppression has also been confirmed with full force. In our day the main citadels of capitalism are suffering ever sharper attacks of the general crisis engulfing the capitalist system. That is evidenced in economic upheavals, uncontrolled growth of inflation and unemployment, the growing instability of the whole system of state-monopoly domination, the deepening of the class struggle in the capitalist countries, the growing revolutionary transforming role of the working class, and

the rallying around it of all working people and all progressive forces in the anti-imperialist struggle. All this is evidence that capitalism is a transient, passing phase of history. It has no future.

Lenin's conclusion about the natural connection between the national liberation movement and the proletariat's revolutionary struggle has been fully confirmed. Both the historic gains already made and the prospects for national liberation revolutions are inseparable from the victories of the international working class and of world socialism. These revolutions are developing as an integral part of a single world revolutionary process.

The world revolutionary process is forging irresistibly ahead, and its boundaries are becoming ever wider. Properly speaking, the socialist revolution and the working class's fight against the domination of monopoly capital and for socialism are merging in it on a common anti-imperialist platform with the national liberation and democratic revolutions, with all the various currents of the general democratic and anti-fascist movements, and with the struggles of the broad masses of the peasantry, urban middle classes, intelligentsia, and other social forces against the oppression of the monopolies, reaction, and militarism, and for freedom, democracy, and the social rights of the working people.

In our day, world socialism is a historical reality. The socialist revolution won out in a whole group of countries in Europe and Asia, and then in Latin America, in Cuba. A socialist community of nations has taken shape within which international relations of a new type have been moulded, based on principles of fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance.

New victories for socialism and the liberation movement have been won in recent years in South-East Asia (Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea) and in Africa (Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, and Angola). They are evidence of the breakdown of imperialism's colonial system, and once more confirm the truth of the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

The countries building socialism and communism, with the Soviet Union in the front rank, are a powerful base for development of the world revolutionary process.

Our country is unswervingly following Lenin's course towards communism. Soviet society, as we know, has entered on the period of developed socialism. The new system has not only won full and final victory. It is an integral organism that has reached the stage of maturity; its onward march is proceeding steadily on the basis of fully developed socialist relations of production. It is providing full scope for bringing out the very rich possibilities of socialism in both material and spiritual production, and for creating the conditions for all-round development of the individual. Relying on these advantages of existing socialism, the Soviet people are winning more and more new victories under the leadership of the CPSU and under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, and are demonstrating the meaning of communism in practice, by example.

In all its historic achievements the Party has been unfailingly guided by the great Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and continues to be so. It is this fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and its principles that has given our Party, and is giving it, the possibility to resolve properly the very complicated matters facing the country at every stage of the movement towards communism, to orient itself correctly in the labyrinth of the contradictory phenomena of the period, and to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism.

Proletarian internationalism is not simply an element or aspect of Marxism-Leninism. It permeates the whole content of the theory and practice of scientific communism; Marxist-Leninist theory itself arose and is developing as a generalisation of the international experience of the working-class movement and as an expression of the internationalist interests of the working class. In this sense the whole history of Marxism is the history of the establishment and development of proletarian internationalism.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels established a firm internationalist tradition in the working-class movement. They considered it a most important obligation of Marxist parties to fight actively to inculcate proletarian internationalism in the consciousness of the struggling working class and to make it the conscious basis of the working class's strategy and tactics. In stressing the unity of the international and national

tasks of the proletariat, Marx and Engels were models for the fight against various symptoms of national narrow-mindedness and sectarian exclusiveness, showing that these tendencies led the working-class movement backward, whatever the phraseology in which they were wrapped.

The internationalist tradition of Marx and Engels was assimilated, developed, and deepened by Lenin, who defended it in the struggle against social chauvinists and nationalists. He attached special importance to the effective character of proletarian internationalism and its embodiment in the concrete everyday activity of the Party and of individual Communists. The heart of the matter, he stressed, was "to be able to be an internationalist in deed, even when times are most trying".¹ Thanks to Lenin, internationalism became the flesh and blood of the Bolshevik Party and of the Third, Communist, International founded by him.

Proletarian internationalism is the most valuable achievement of the international communist movement, an inexhaustible source of its vitality, and the basis and pledge of all its victories. That is why the opponents of communism, right and "left" revisionists, Maoists, and nationalists of various shades and hues have now made proletarian internationalism the main target of their incessant attacks. The enemies of Marxism-Leninism, violating logic and distorting the facts, assert that proletarian internationalism allegedly contradicts the national interests of the working class of separate countries. They are doing their utmost to throw doubt on the existence of the general laws of the development of revolution and the building of socialism and communism discovered by Marxism-Leninism, and so to disarm the working class and communist parties in the face of imperialist reaction.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, giving a fitting rebuff to the attacks of anti-Communists and opportunists on the most sacral principle of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, declared in the report of the Central Committee to the 25th Congress of the CPSU:

"As we see it, to renounce proletarian internationalism is to deprive communist parties and the working-class movement in general of a mighty and tested weapon. It would work in favour of the class enemy.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 82.

... We Soviet Communists consider defence of proletarian internationalism the sacred duty of every Marxist-Leninist."¹

Marxism-Leninism is the most influential force in the world and in the intellectual life of mankind today. Its ideas have captured the minds of hundreds of millions of people. But as Lenin pointed out: "the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to *disguise themselves as Marxists*".² And in fact, as the general crisis of capitalism gets deeper, and as interest in Marxist-Leninist theory grows among very broad circles of the public, and as this theory is actively put into practice, the enemies of Marxism more and more often deck themselves out in Marxist clothing. Taking separate statements by Marx, Engels, and Lenin and interpreting them at random, they slander existing socialism, strive to emasculate the revolutionary essence of Marxist-Leninist teaching, and substitute bourgeois liberalism for Marxism.

All this lays a great responsibility on Marxist-Leninists, on the theoretical cadres of our Party, and on workers in the social sciences. To maintain the purity of Marxism-Leninism means not only to discern the manoeuvres of its enemies in good time but also to be able to spot the new problems in good time on which the ideologists of anti-communism and opportunists of all brands gamble, to be able to pose these questions correctly, and to find proper ways of dealing with them, creatively developing Marxism-Leninism and taking new historical experience into account.

In Leninism an attentive attitude to the principles of the theory and politics of Marxism is combined with creative, innovatory comprehension of the new phenomena and processes of reality. Fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and its creative development are the unshakeable foundation on which Communists' attitude to the treasure-house of the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin and their comprehension of today's tasks as regards theoretical and ideological work are based.

Marxism-Leninism is a single, integral, international doctrine, all the main parts of which are internally interconnected and mutually condi-

¹ *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1976, p. 37.

² Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 18, p. 584.

tioned. Marxism, as Lenin aptly put it, is forged as it were from a single piece of steel. It is a world outlook from which it is impossible to remove any one component without thereby denying the whole theory, without departing from the truth and from the living dialectics of reality. Marxism can only be developed on the basis of its fundamental principles discovered by Marx, Engels, and Lenin and confirmed by life and the experience of history. These principles have international and permanent significance. Everything put forward by opportunists, therefore, as some kind of "regional" or "national" version of Marxism, has nothing in common with revolutionary theory and damages the cause of the working class.

The treasure-house of Marxist-Leninist ideas is being enriched today by the CPSU and fraternal communist parties, and by the collective efforts of the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world. Our Party considers it a most important ingredient of its internationalist duty to the international communist movement to work tirelessly to develop Marxist-Leninist theory, which is integrally combined with an irreconcilable struggle against all forms of bourgeois ideology.

At the beginning of the century Lenin said: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." That statement retains its significance fully in our day. But today we can also say that without Marxist-Leninist theory it is impossible to build socialism and communism. Marxism-Leninism is the scientific basis of the complex business of building communism.

The CPSU is creatively developing this teaching, generalising the experience of the masses' creative activity. Every Party congress and every plenum of the Central Committee is a contribution to theoretical comprehension of matters of home and international development and to the theory and practice of scientific communism.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU held not long ago was an example of the old, creative resolution of important matters of present-day social development and of the development of the theory of scientific communism. In the report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee (L. I. Brezhnev, "The Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy") and in the other Congress discussions, economic, social, political, and ideological tasks for the future were formulated from the

standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, and the very rich collective experience of the work of the Party and of the whole Soviet people was synthesised.

This experience has passed through the laboratory of the collective thought of the Party's active workers and theoretical cadres, set out in scientifically formulated, politically considered propositions relating primarily to such problems of the theory of developed socialist society as methods of creating the material and technical basis of communism, the ways and forms of the development of socialist social relations into communist ones, systematic growth of the people's material prosperity, the education of a harmoniously developed individual, the raising of the efficiency and quality of work in every way, intensification of social production, and development of science and engineering and of the socialist mode of life.

The 25th Congress paid immense attention to theoretical generalisation of the experience gained by the countries of the socialist community and of the experience of the international communist movement as a whole. It threw the clear light of Marxism-Leninism onto the tasks of the struggle of the working class and all working people for peace, democracy, and socialism in today's conditions. It made a weighty contribution to elaborating the Marxist-Leninist theory of international relations, to resolving pressing problems of the present stage of the world revolutionary process and of the international communist movement, and to scientific substantiation of its strategy and tactics.

The 25th Congress equipped the Party and the people with an awareness of concrete tasks, with a clear political line, strategy and tactics for a further advance towards communism. It demonstrated the solid cohesion of our Party, its firm dedication to the people, and its steadfast fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The 25th Congress showed once more, with full force, that only Marxism-Leninism provides a reliable key to understanding the very complicated phenomena, processes, and laws of development of the modern world, and all its problems (economic, socio-political, and ideological), including those of science and technology, both present and future.

Karl Marx in his day demonstrated that scientific and technical progress included the tendency of science to become a direct productive force

and therefore called for a revolutionary transformation of social relations and the ending of the capitalist economic system, and that only under socialism could it fully reveal its potential.

The current scientific and technical revolution is opening up unprecedented possibilities for society to use science to tame the forces of nature for its conservation and the solution of social problems. This revolution brings out the deeply anti-human character of the capitalist system, is aggravating all its contradictions, and at the same time is the material preparation for communist civilisation. It is creating a real need for the achievements of scientific and technical progress to be combined with the advantages of the socialist economic system, which offers full scope for meeting the requirements of the scientific and industrial revolution and makes it possible to employ the latter's results purposefully for the good of man.

Karl Marx, a great scientist, never considered science as an end in itself. For him it was a means for bringing a happy future for all people closer. One of his collaborators, Wilhelm Liebknecht, who knew him intimately, very aptly said of him: "A revolutionary of science, a revolutionary *by means of* science, he scaled the highest peaks of science so as to bring science down from there to the people and make it their common property."¹

It is socialism which, having made science the common property of the people and consciously employing its results for the good of all the people, has given its development tremendous impetus. Today the social role of all the natural and social sciences is growing. Accelerated development of science, practical application of its achievements, and raising of the effectiveness of research are therefore not simply an inner pattern of science but a pressing, objective need of socialist society.

An important condition for a rise in the effectiveness of research is for all Soviet scientists to assimilate Marxist-Leninist methodology, develop it further, and apply it at all levels of scientific knowledge. This is particularly important now in connection with the ever-mounting volume of knowledge of nature, society, and man, and in connection with the broad

¹ See Marx-Engels, *Werke*, Vol. 19, p. 338.

differentiation of the sciences and their growing integration, and the unprecedented increase of the role of science in all spheres of public life.

All this gives our scientists—both natural and social—the job of constantly expanding and deepening fundamental research along the whole spectrum of the natural sciences and social studies.

There is no doubt that Soviet scientists, and above all the top management of our major scientific institution, the Academy of Sciences, will make a worthy contribution to carrying out the decisions of the Party's 25th Congress, to implementing the plans of communist construction, and to the fight for peace and social progress throughout the world.

Almost a hundred years have passed since Karl Marx's death. But his name and ideas are at the centre of the socio-political and intellectual development of humanity. They are with us, in the ranks of the fighters for the emancipation of mankind from capitalist exploitation, for peace, democracy, and socialism, and for the triumph of the cause of communism all over the planet.

In concluding my address I would like to recall Lenin's words about Marx and Engels, words that express the stand of every real revolutionary: "No, these were real people! We must learn from them. We must not depart from that principle."¹ And we shall never depart from that principle, the granite foundation of Marxism-Leninism. This ever-living, developing, revolutionary science is our banner, our weapon, the source of all our victories.

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 35, p. 281.

Part 3

The International Working-class Movement

TO STRENGTHEN COMMUNIST UNITY AND INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY

Speech at the 11th Congress of the Italian Communist Party,
26 January 1966

DEAR COMRADES!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union we convey to the 11th Congress of the fraternal Italian Communist Party and all Italian Communists warm comradely greetings from the Soviet Communists and all the Soviet people.

Our delegation is thankful for the invitation to this Congress and wishes it complete success in its fruitful work. Reciprocal invitations to congresses are a good tradition in the communist movement. We hope that in two months—at the end of next March—we shall be welcoming a delegation from your Party to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

We listened with great interest to the report of our friend and prominent leader of the international communist movement Comrade Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party. He presented a far-reaching analysis of the international situation, the conditions in which the working class and all working people of Italy have to struggle, and formulated the tasks of the Communist Party.

Your Congress is meeting at a time when the international situation has deteriorated to a certain extent. There is an increase in international tensions, exacerbation of the antagonism between the imperialist forces, on the one hand, and the forces of socialism, the working-class, and the national liberation movement, on the other.

All world developments in the last few years confirm the assessment

of the main historical processes given in the documents of the Moscow meetings of representatives of communist and workers' parties, their conclusion as to the growing superiority of the forces of socialism over the forces of imperialism. The continually growing might of the world socialist system and all revolutionary forces is a characteristic feature of our time.

In recent years the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have made new progress which considerably stimulates the worldwide struggle for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism. The national liberation movement against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism is mounting, the fighting unity of the masses in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is growing stronger, as was strikingly demonstrated by the recent Havana conference.¹ The working class and other working people in the developed capitalist countries are waging a stubborn struggle against the rule of monopoly capital.

The peoples of the socialist countries, the working class, and all working people in the capitalist world and the national liberation movement are allies in the struggle against imperialism and its acts of aggression, for lasting peace, for the great ideals of progress, democracy, and socialism. These are the three main currents of the revolutionary movement, each of which is upholding in its own specific ways and means both its own and the common interests, and is attacking the positions of imperialism.

At the same time we can see that aggressive circles stint no efforts or resources to check the inexorable march of history. The recent period has been characterised by the especially heightened activity of the reactionary forces headed by the United States. Millions of people are coming to realise how right the Communists were in declaring for all the world to hear at their international meeting in 1960 that US imperialism was acting as a world policeman, still hoping to strangle the liberation movement and establish its domination in all regions of the world by using bombers, napalm, and punitive forces. Seeking to achieve their anti-popular aims, the imperialist aggressors resort to military intervention

¹ [The First Afro-Asian and Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference held in Havana, Cuba, in 1966 and attended by delegates from 82 countries (*Ed.*).]

and gross interference in the affairs of other countries. Thereby they aggravate international tensions and undermine the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The criminal war unleashed by the US ruling circles against the Vietnamese people, the US intervention in the Dominican Republic, the interference in the internal affairs of Latin American, African, and Asian countries, and other acts of aggression testify to the far-reaching plans of US imperialism. Aggressive circles in the United States encourage and support German militarism, which is now openly declaring its revanchist goals and its claims to nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union, other socialist countries, all peoples, above all in Europe, cannot and will not reconcile themselves to the revival of a hotbed of aggression in the centre of Europe.

World developments convincingly demonstrate that acts of aggression and a policy of intimidation are increasingly symptomatic of the weakness of imperialism, which has ceased to be the ruling force on earth. No political escalation, no build-up of armed forces can break the will of the peoples to struggle for their national independence and freedom. The peoples who are upholding their right to a peaceful life and defending their freedom and independence rely on a new balance of power in the world. This balance, which took shape after the Second World War, continues to change in favour of socialism. Therefore the imperialist acts of aggression have failed to subdue and intimidate the peoples. The imperialists are receiving a firm rebuff everywhere.

On the side of the peoples fighting for their independence are the world socialist camp, the international working-class movement, all the forces of national liberation, democracy, and social progress. Notwithstanding temporary difficulties arising in their own ranks, these forces increasingly determine the course of world development. This is the guarantee of the inevitable defeat of US imperialism in its attempts to strangle the liberation movement of the peoples. US imperialism is finding itself in growing isolation in the international arena. Even many of its allies, fearing the peoples' wrath and reckoning with the actual balance of forces, refuse to support US aggression in Vietnam.

All those who refuse to be enslaved by imperialism, who uphold freedom and democracy, who want peace on earth, seek to contribute to the

support of the Vietnamese people's just struggle. The mounting worldwide solidarity movement and angry protests against the US aggressors are a striking sign of the times, evidence of the peoples' growing determination to put an end to imperialist aggression in Vietnam, to defend peace and freedom, and to shape their destinies themselves.

The Soviet Union is giving all-round assistance to the fraternal people of Vietnam in their heroic struggle against the barbaric aggression of US imperialism. By agreement with the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam the Soviet Union has given Vietnam significant aid for the strengthening of its defence capability, particularly in the past year. Soviet military, economic, and other aid is well known to those it is intended for. The leaders of embattled Vietnam have more than once declared for all the world to hear their high appreciation of the assistance received from the CPSU and the Soviet people.

The Soviet people will fulfil their internationalist duty to the fraternal people of Vietnam!

In a situation of bitter struggle in the world arena the CPSU, the entire Soviet people, loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, give the necessary assistance to the peoples who are victims of imperialist aggression, to all fighters for national freedom and independence. Our assistance is varied and takes diverse forms depending on the conditions under which the different peoples are fighting and on the problems they have to solve. To some of them we give political support and economic assistance so as to help strengthen their economic independence and repulse the encroachments of the colonialists and neo-colonialists, to facilitate social progress. To the peoples waging an armed struggle for their freedom and independence we render the assistance required for that struggle.

The Soviet Union consistently pursues its Leninist foreign policy of peace. Together with other fraternal parties the CPSU is making tireless efforts to create a foreign policy climate favourable for building socialism and communism in the countries ruled by the working class and is struggling to consolidate the unity of the socialist community. Our Party is doing everything in its power so that the world socialist system estab-

lished at the cost of great efforts and sacrifices on the part of the Soviet and other peoples may overcome all difficulties and obstacles, grow stronger, further consolidate its unity, and build up its might.

The CPSU is taking consistent steps to assert the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Upholding peaceful coexistence, we oppose imperialist interference in the internal affairs of other countries and advocate strict observance of the equality and sovereignty of large and small states, the prevention of world thermonuclear war, the easing of international tensions, the elimination of the hotbeds of another war, and the settlement of outstanding issues through negotiation. Exposure of the imperialist aggressors and implementation of measures helping to the mobilisation of all peace forces to fight the danger of another world war form a component part of this policy.

The policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems does not contradict either in theory or in practice but is in harmony with the policy of supporting the peoples fighting for their national independence and freedom and giving a rebuff to the aggressive intrigues of the imperialists.

Experience shows that in conditions of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems there are favourable conditions for the working class, for all working people in the capitalist countries to fight for their interests against capitalism.

The Soviet peace policy is not motivated by any fear of imperialism. The Soviet Union, allied with other socialist states and relying on its growing economic and military might, is capable of repulsing any aggression. The interests of world socialism are dependably protected today.

The aim of the struggle against the menace of another world war is to save the masses from the terrible disasters and destruction a thermonuclear war would bring. We are confident that in our epoch there is a real chance of averting another world war. It all depends on the peoples themselves, on their active efforts, particularly on their unity of action in the struggle against the threat of war, on the cohesion of all true opponents of imperialism and imperialist wars. The latest experience indicates that the threat of war looms greater when the unity of the revolutionary, democratic forces is weakened. That is why the Marxist-Leninist parties seek to

consolidate this unity and take joint action against the aggressors, to strengthen peace and the security of nations.

Comrades! The Soviet people are directing their efforts and all their energies towards building a communist society in the USSR, strengthening the economic and military might of the Soviet state, improving the well-being of the Soviet people, perfecting and broadening socialist democracy, providing all the necessary conditions for the development of the individual, advancing science, technology, and culture. By building communism the Soviet people are making a very important contribution to the world liberation movement because they are blazing the trail to the future for all mankind. The construction of socialism and communism in the USSR and other socialist countries, the building up of their economic and defence potentials, and the progress of science and culture have international revolutionary significance and exert a great influence on world development, contributing to changing the balance of forces between the two world social systems in favour of socialism. The successes of the socialist countries extend the possibilities for increasing political support and material assistance rendered to the national liberation movement, and influence the minds and sentiments of the working people in all countries, convincing them of the advantages of socialism by the force of example.

Our Party's course of building a communist society, charted by the 20th, 21st, and 22nd congresses and the CPSU Programme, was enriched and developed in the decisions of the plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee held in late 1964 and in 1965. It is a great pleasure for our delegation to tell this Congress about the Soviet people's new achievements on this path.

Last year the USSR completed the implementation of its seven-year plan. Over the period Soviet industrial output increased by 84 per cent instead of the 80 per cent envisaged in the plan. In the seven years the USSR made spectacular economic progress.

The growth of production and national income made it possible to implement new measures in raising the well-being of the people. The wages of factory and office workers increased. The working day was shortened in all industries without any wage cuts. Income tax was abol-

ished or reduced for a large proportion of factory and office workers. The minimum pension for factory and office workers was raised. The institution of old-age pensions for collective farmers was a great event in their lives; now they work with still greater confidence in their future. Considerable progress has been made in housing construction. Over the last decade almost half the Soviet population have moved into new flats or improved their housing conditions.

Soviet scientific, technological, and cultural achievements are widely known in the world. The USSR holds advanced positions in space exploration, nuclear physics, electronics, radio-engineering, rocketry, and aircraft construction. Important discoveries have been made in the medical sphere. New cohorts of talented youth prepared to cope with the most complicated problems posed by modern scientific and technological progress are joining the science field. The Soviet Union has a large body of highly competent intellectuals of every nationality in the country working in every field of science and culture. Every citizen is entitled to secondary or higher education at government expense.

All this is evidence that the Party Programme, the programme for the building of communism, is being steadily translated into reality.

Naturally, besides great historic successes we have difficulties and outstanding problems. When one has to follow an untrodden path and cope for the first time in history with the tasks of building communism, such phenomena are understandable. The important thing is that the Party exposes shortcomings, tells the people about them frankly and openly, and, what matters most, takes steps to remedy them. Everybody who is familiar with the decisions of the latest plenary meetings of the Party's Central Committee knows this.

Soviet agriculture is advancing at a slower pace than we would like to see. As you know, the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in March of last year discussed the major problems of agricultural development. Its decisions are intended to ensure the good economic performance of every collective and state farm, enhance the material incentives for workers in agriculture, and thus stimulate their initiative.

As you apparently know, the September 1965 Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee outlined important measures to be taken in

industry. It is a question of raising the efficiency of social production, opening still wider opportunities for scientific and technological progress, raising labour productivity, and improving product quality.

What methods do we propose to use to achieve this? Improving the management of industry, perfecting centralised planning, and stimulating at the same time the economic initiative and self-reliance of enterprises and associations by widely using economic incentives and material interest.

Many bourgeois and petty-bourgeois economists pursuing anti-Soviet objectives allege that this reform is tantamount almost to a return to capitalism. Such fabrications have no basis in fact. Soviet enterprises have always been and remain socialist property of the whole people, belonging not to individuals but to society as a whole. The use of management levers and methods resembling in name only the categories used in capitalist economics changes nothing in the socialist character of production. On the contrary, a transition to more effective use of such methods means a new stage in mastering the objective laws of socialist economy and opens up new vistas for bringing into play the enormous latent potentials inherent in it.

The economic reform is intended to increase the initiative and responsibility of all workers and to enhance the role of the trade unions and all public organisations. This also means a big step forward in developing socialist democracy. Another step in the same direction is the reorganisation of the system of Party and government control into people's control bodies with the object of still more widely involving the masses in state control and administration. In the socialist state all rights, including that of control, are vested in the people.

Comrades! It is with keen attention that Soviet Communists follow the life and activities of the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries, taking their difficulties to heart and rejoicing in their successes together with them.

The communist parties express the vital interests of the working class; this is the source of their strength and determines their role in the working-class movement in the capitalist countries. The realities of the capitalist world daily confirm the historical correctness of the revolutionary

working-class parties. Contrary to the false phraseology about the transformation of capitalism, "people's capitalism" and "welfare state", about the "disappearance of the classes and social harmony" in bourgeois society, state-monopoly capitalism brings the working class and all working people intensified oppression and exploitation, unemployment, the ruin of millions of peasants and small urban proprietors. It brings ever greater enrichment of a handful of monopoly capitalists, increasing military expenditures, militarisation of the economy, and the danger of another world war being unleashed by the most frantic of the imperialists. The rule of monopolies does not alleviate but, on the contrary, deepens and exacerbates all the class contradictions in contemporary bourgeois society. All this faces the working-class movement, primarily its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, with new problems, requires them to seek effective ways of struggle for the interests of the working class and the masses.

Your Party, one of the biggest contingents in the international communist movement, is celebrating these days its glorious 45th anniversary, which coincides with another red-letter day—the 75th birthday of Antonio Gramsci. Please accept our hearty fraternal congratulations on this occasion.

The path traversed by the Italian Communist Party was not an easy one. For twenty years it had to operate underground and was persecuted by the fascists. The Italian Communists were the core of the splendid liberation movement, a vivid page in the eventful history of Italy. In the post-war years you more than once thwarted the attempts of the reactionaries to turn the country's development back. Overcoming all difficulties the Italian Communist Party founded by Antonio Gramsci and Palmiro Togliatti, outstanding leaders of the Italian and international communist movement, has always carried and is carrying aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of revolutionary struggle for democracy and socialism. The powerful army of Communists is a great national force in Italy, on which the people of your fine country pin their hopes for progress and prosperity.

The Soviet people are gladdened by your Party's successes in the parliamentary and municipal elections in recent years, in the struggle to improve the working people's living standards and widen their democrat-

ic rights and freedoms. We are aware of the diverse ties your Party has with the masses, the workers, farm hands, sharecroppers, peasants, craftsmen, office workers, and intellectuals.

We see that the appeals of the Italian Communist Party for its country to pursue an independent peaceful foreign policy, for concrete actions against its affiliation with the aggressive NATO alliance and for a neutral Italy, against connivance at Bonn's revanchists, for European security, against nuclear weapons proliferation, for general disarmament, are evoking a broad response from the masses. The Italian people's material and moral support for embattled Vietnam is an important contribution to the international movement of solidarity with the Vietnamese patriots.

The Soviet Communists and all working people highly appreciate your Party's great contribution to the development of Soviet-Italian friendship. I avail myself of this opportunity to tell you that we are satisfied with the favourable development of Soviet-Italian relations in the last few years and with the expansion of economic, cultural, and other ties between our countries. The Soviet people, like the people of Italy, want lasting collective security in Europe and are interested in a relaxation of tensions and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We are profoundly convinced that a further improvement of relations and development of mutually beneficial economic, political, and cultural ties between the USSR and Italy, and also of contacts between Soviet and Italian statesmen would not only benefit our countries and peoples but also indisputably contribute to greater security in Europe.

Comrades! The current international situation demands unity of action of all revolutionary and democratic forces and, above all, unity of the world communist movement. Joint actions increase the strength of the blows dealt by the international working-class movement at the class enemy. They create the best conditions for fresh victories of the national liberation movement and make it easier to curb the aggressive forces of imperialism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always advocated strengthening the unity of the communist ranks, of all the world's revolutionary forces. Recently the CPSU and other fraternal parties have taken important steps to promote the cohesion of the countries of the socialist

community on the principled foundations of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This contributes to the consolidation of the alliance of the Warsaw Treaty member countries, development of fruitful co-operation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and to the strengthening of the international positions of socialism.

In its relations with all fraternal parties the CPSU attaches first priority to the interests of the common struggle against imperialism and for the triumph of peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism, and communism. The CPSU actively promotes the unity of the socialist countries and the entire international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles laid down by the meetings of 1957 and 1960.

An important condition for unity in the communist ranks is all-round support for the fraternal parties now struggling under the most arduous conditions and being fiercely attacked by reactionary forces. Now, as you know, reaction has staged a massacre of the Communist Party of Indonesia. Scores of thousands of Indonesian Communists have been killed in the repressions. The CPSU, jointly with the fraternal parties of other countries and the entire democratic movement, voices its angry protest against the outrages committed by the reactionaries in Indonesia.

Comrades! We share your confidence that the international communist movement, which has withstood numerous trials and overcome countless difficulties, will achieve unity in its ranks by determined efforts on the solid foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Allow me to present to the Congress Presidium a gift from the CPSU Central Committee—a sculpture of Lenin by the Soviet sculptor B. V. Yedunov.

INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EXPERIENCE OF THE POPULAR FRONT IN FRANCE

Article from the journal *Cahiers du communisme* of the Central
Committee of the French Communist Party, No. 9, 1966

THE history of the international working-class movement knows periods of such powerful actions of the proletariat that tremendously affected all the subsequent struggle and reverberated throughout the world for long years afterwards. One such period was the 1930, when the class battles of the national contingents of the proletariat were supplemented with new forms adding to the experience of the struggle waged by the working people throughout the world.

The French working class and its vanguard—the French Communist Party—have to their credit the historic service of setting up an organised and effective movement of the masses—the Popular Front, which barred the way to fascism in France, wrested from the big bourgeoisie important concessions to the working people in the social field, and influenced the international situation in the pre-war period.

The significance of the experience of the Popular Front in France is many-sided. One of the major lessons the Communists of all countries have learned from the experience of the Popular Front is the conviction that working-class unity is indispensable for success both in the daily battles against the bourgeoisie and in the struggle for the ultimate goal.

Two main currents—the revolutionary communist and social-democratic and reformist—took shape in the international working-class move-

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

ment long ago. Although the social-democratic leaders took the path of capitulation to the bourgeoisie and collaborated with it, they were followed by considerable masses of working people. But no large-scale social transformations are possible without active support from the majority of the working people. Criticising Communists who adopted sectarian positions, as far back as the early twenties Lenin advanced the slogan “to the masses” and substantiated the need to fight for the unity of the working class.

Lenin's propositions were approved by the Comintern and adopted by all communist parties; however, until the thirties they were not consistently implemented in practice, primarily because of the anti-communism of the right-wing social-democratic leaders, and because of the sectarian views which became widespread among Communists.

A definite turning point was reached in the early thirties, when a substantial change in the alignment of political forces occurred in the world. The big bourgeoisie of all countries sought to shift the burden of the catastrophic consequences of the disastrous world economic crisis of 1929–33 onto the working people's shoulders. The class resistance of the proletariat, by now driven to despair, assumed increasingly organised forms. International imperialism, frightened by the scope and growing unity of working-class actions, hurled the most reactionary dark force—fascism—against the working people. Hitler seized power in Germany. The fascist menace became real in France as well.

In that situation the need for unity and cohesion in the ranks of the working class, the only social force capable of leading the non-proletarian masses and barring the way to fascism, became especially urgent. To work out a new policy became a matter of vital importance in the activities of all Communist parties.

It became increasingly obvious that the need for struggle, primarily against fascism, in defence of and for the expansion of democracy, was coming to the forefront. Fascism was threatening not only the working class but also the peasantry, the craftsmen, the intelligentsia, small businessmen, and all democratic strata. Thus the objective foundation was laid for a broad union of all anti-fascist forces. Thereby history set before the working class and its Communist Party the important task of

acting as a genuine national force capable of directing the country's development along the path of democracy and social progress. To accomplish this task it was necessary first of all to overcome many dogmatic views formed in previous years: prejudices against the struggle for partial aims, a penchant to oppose the struggle for socialism to the struggle for democracy, and sectarian narrow-mindedness which hindered a widening of the ranks of the allies of the working class.

The French Communist Party was the first to step boldly and resolutely onto this path. It worked out a policy which developed in a new situation Lenin's ideas of the unity of the working class, of strengthening and expanding its class alliances.

Maurice Thorez, Secretary General of the French Communist Party, greatly contributed to this development. In his statements at Party congresses and plenary meetings of the Central Committee and in his articles and speeches he elaborated on the problem of working-class unity, of the need to attract new allies to the working class, of the character and tasks of the Popular Front in France.

The basis for the unity of the French working class, which lay in the Pact (27 July 1934) on joint action by the two main working-class parties, the PCF and the SFIO, was practically developed later. Of tremendous importance was the restoration in March 1936 of the trade union unity of the proletariat, carried out as a result of the persistent efforts of the French Communists, who overcame the stubborn resistance of the anticommunist leadership of the CGT.

These first successes on the path of overcoming the division of the working class gave a powerful impetus to the process of consolidating all anti-fascist and democratic forces. Thus a situation was created in which it was possible to advance the slogan of setting up a Popular Front. Describing the Communist Party line of setting up the Popular Front, Maurice Thorez declared at the 8th Congress of the PCF:

"The Popular Front is not an accidental tactic for the Communists, and still less an electoral move.

"It is an element of their basic policy, a practical application of the principles of Marx and Lenin on the need for a *complete* alliance of

the working class with the middle classes not only to defeat fascism but also to put an end to exploitation by capital."¹

In January 1936 the PCF, the SFIO, and the Radical-Socialist Party, expressing the interests of the middle classes in town and country, adopted a common Popular Front programme. The parliamentary elections in April-May 1936, at which these parties won an impressive victory, led to the formation of a Popular Front government.

The Popular Front policy confirmed what the Communists had appealed for. The working people's unity ensured for the working class the possibility of achieving direct and immediate improvements in the social field (a shorter working week, paid holidays, wage increases, introduction of a system of collective agreements, etc.). The condition of the peasants, the intelligentsia, and the middle classes was considerably eased. These achievements were of enormous importance in themselves, opening the possibility of further gains in the social field. At the same time they gave the workers of all countries confidence in their own strength, in the importance of organisation and unity of their ranks, and the peasantry and the urban middle classes were able to see for themselves that by supporting the working class they could also obtain satisfaction of their own interests.

Although it is generally known, it is important to recall this aspect of the activities of the Popular Front, because the enemies of working-class unity in our day, too, do all they can to play down the significance of the real achievements of the Popular Front. However, nobody will succeed in distorting the main thing—that the vital needs of the working class and all working people can be satisfied only through unity of the working class and all democratic forces, only in the course of a vigorous and organised struggle against the rule of capital.

An important achievement of the Popular Front, and one which was not only of national but also of international significance, was the blow dealt at the forces of fascism and reaction. Now, decades later, one can say confidently that the victory of the Popular Front in France contrib-

¹ Maurice Thorez, "L'Union de la nation française", rapport présenté au VIII^e Congrès National du Parti Communiste, 22-25 janvier 1936, S.p.p. 75.

uted to the consolidation of the forces of resistance to fascism and had a definite influence on the development of the revolutionary process in many countries.

France was the capitalist country where fascism was given the first determined rebuff. The significance of this can hardly be overestimated if one remembers the relative ease with which the fascist plague began to spread over Europe. The Communists were the first not only to call mankind's attention to this sinister threat but also to show how to stop and defeat fascism.

This experience of the French Communist Party's struggle against fascism, its line of establishing a united workers' front and a broad democratic front of all peace-loving and progressive forces as an indispensable condition for crushing fascism, defending peace and democracy, and progressing towards socialism, were evaluated highly by the international communist movement. The 7th Congress of the Comintern resolutely supported the French Communist Party. Georgi Dimitrov had every reason to say in his concluding speech at the Congress:

"The great merit of the French Communist Party is that it grasped the need of the *hour*, that it paid no heed to the sectarians who tried to pull the Party hither and thither and hamper the realisation of the united front of struggle against fascism, but acted boldly and in a Bolshevik fashion, and, by its pact with the Socialist Party providing for joint action, prepared the united front of the proletariat as the basis for the anti-fascist People's Front now in the making. . . .

"It is the great service of the French Communist Party and the French proletariat that by their fighting against fascism in a united proletarian front they helped to prepare the decisions of our Congress, which are of such tremendous importance for the workers of all countries."¹

The victory of the Popular Front in France had a great influence on the revolutionary movement in many countries. Following France, the Spanish people, who were the victims of a military blow from internation-

¹ Georgi Dimitrov, *Selected Speeches and Articles*, with an Introduction by Harry Pollitt, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1951, p. 148.

al fascism, rose to struggle for their rights. The Popular Front government formed in Spain united different democratic trends on a common platform and carried out important socio-economic transformations. Under its leadership the Spanish people fought fascism courageously for more than three years.

Equipped with the programme of struggle drawn up by the 7th Congress of the Comintern and encouraged by the first favourable results of its implementation in France and Spain, the communist parties in several countries successfully organised a rebuff to reaction. The establishment of the Popular Front in Chile secured an important victory for democracy in the presidential elections of 1936. The Popular Front policy greatly helped the revolutionary struggle in China. In Belgium a fascist putsch was thwarted by democratic forces.

It should be pointed out that the Popular Front set up in metropolitan France contributed to improving the conditions of the struggle waged by the peoples of the French colonies for their national independence. For example, the Communist Party of Indochina founded in 1930 could use legal forms of struggle from 1936, and this helped extend its influence on the masses.

The PCF worked out a broad foreign policy programme for the Popular Front, which envisaged political and military alliances directed against fascist aggression and towards establishing a collective security system. Franco-Soviet co-operation was to become an important element of this democratic foreign policy. Under the pressure of democratic forces the French Government was compelled in 1935 to conclude a mutual assistance treaty of alliance with the USSR.

This treaty could have played an important role in preventing fascist aggression in Europe. The then rulers of France, however, pursuing their class interests, turned their backs on this treaty and took the disastrous path of "appeasement" of the aggressor, betraying the French nation. We all know what that shortsighted policy resulted in. The policy of "non-interference" in Spain, which had fallen prey to the armed aggression of fascism, the Munich agreement, the "phoney war", the persecution of Communists, true French patriots—these were steps which led to the defeat and occupation of France.

The alignment of forces in the international arena, the split in the working-class movement in most capitalist countries, did not allow the working class and democratic, peace-loving forces to prevent world war being unleashed by the fascist states. Nevertheless, the policy of unity of democratic and anti-imperialist forces collectively worked out by the communist parties yielded fruit already in that period. The spread of fascism in a number of countries was checked, the masses acquired a rich experience of struggle which they used widely later in the Resistance movement against the fascist invaders. The Communists can proudly look history in the face: their assessment of the prevailing situation proved entirely correct, their policy and struggle led to outstanding victories.

In our day, when the French Communists and the Communists of other countries look back on the history of the working-class movement in the thirties, the history of the establishment and development of the Popular Front, they are looking into the future. For Communists the history of the working-class movement presents not only theoretical and informative interest; it is also necessary for learning practical lessons, for working out the correct tactics in the present situation.

Today the question of setting up a broad democratic front of the working people spearheaded against the rule of the monopolies has again come up as a matter of urgency in many highly developed capitalist countries. As was emphasised in the statement of the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960:

"the oppression of the big monopolies is becoming more difficult to bear by all sections of the nation. . . . The working class, peasantry, intellectuals, and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie are vitally interested in the abolition of monopoly domination. Hence there are favourable conditions for rallying these forces."¹

The most important achievements of modern Marxist thought are successive developments of the principles put forward in the thirties, which have remained valid to date because they dealt not with specific current questions but with the major problems of the struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism. Today also the Communists persistently pur-

¹ *The Struggle for Peace, Democracy and Socialism*, Moscow, 1963, pp. 68, 69.

sue a policy of joint action with all those willing to defend their vital interests against the growing oppression of the monopolies, to fight the menace of a world thermonuclear war, against fascism, for peace, democracy, and national independence. This again is not a tactical, an operational "device" of the Communists designed to "deceive the gullible" as anti-communist propaganda alleges. No, the Popular Front policy, the policy of unity of the working people is an honest and sincere policy of the working-class vanguard pursued on the premise that unity of action of all peace-loving, democratic, republican forces—for all the differences between their ideologies and aims—is a vital necessity, particularly when the forces of internal and external reaction jeopardise the interests of the whole nation, all working sections of the population. Experience shows that unity of action of all these sections benefits, as a rule, not any single political party but all members of the united front if they fight within its ranks honestly and conscientiously.

Just as thirty years ago the need for a broad anti-monopoly front is to overcome the division in the ranks of the working class itself, to ensure the unity of action of its contingents, in our day to achieve working-class unity of action is an increasingly pressing task of the international working-class and communist movement. Never in the history of the world working-class movement has elimination of disunity and fragmentation of the working-class forces both on the national and international scale had such decisive significance as today. Today, when the world is going through the historic period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the struggle against the monopolies and for democracy and peace becomes more and more closely bound up with the struggle for radical social transformations, the working class must be united and consolidated. Life itself imperatively demands that all the contingents of the working class close ranks for the sake of common victory.

The communist and socialist workers are the two branches of the working-class movement. There is an objective foundation for their joint actions. They have a common enemy, a common goal—socialism, although they hold different views on the ways and means for the working class to win power and build a new society.

The Communists constantly press for unity of action with the Social-

Democrats. In most cases, however, their efforts are not reciprocated by the right-wing social-democratic leaders who are infected with anti-communism. For these leaders the struggle against communism is sometimes more important than the struggle for the vital interests of the working people. That is precisely why they are against unity of action. The Communists criticise and will go on criticising the views and actions of the right-wing Social-Democrats which run counter to the interests of the working class; they will criticise social-democratic ideology, and will uphold and propagate Marxist-Leninist teaching. Nevertheless, they are profoundly convinced that ideological differences should not be a hindrance to practical unity of action with the Social-Democrats. On the contrary, in joint struggle it is easier to achieve mutual understanding, overcome prejudices and differences, and work out common positions on many questions.

The conditions for unity of action of the different parties in the working-class movement have now become more favourable. The moral and political prestige of socialism, the foreign policy of peace consistently pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, contribute to this immensely. Many anti-communist prejudices which have long been implanted in the working-class movement by the right-wing social-democratic leaders, for instance, on the subject of the alleged "aggressiveness" of the Soviet Union, are being broken down. The atmosphere is clearing for comradely co-operation between all the contingents of the working-class movement.

Under present conditions the alliance of the working class with the middle classes in town and country has become indispensable for success in the anti-monopoly struggle. This is due both to the proportional growth of the middle classes and the place they occupy in the life of developed capitalist society. Facts show that intellectuals, office employees and other intermediate sections of the population are becoming more and more extensively and actively involved in the struggle for democracy and social progress against the rule of the monopolies.

The last few years have been characterised by the communist parties in the capitalist countries appreciably intensifying their work in the theoretical analysis of modern capitalist society. They seek to work out a

strategic and tactical line of political and social struggle, and to formulate a programme of anti-monopoly and democratic transformations that would correspond both to the concrete conditions in their countries and the new alignment of forces in the world arena. The French Communist Party, for instance, has drawn up a programme of general democratic measures whose implementation would deal a strong blow at the domination of the monopolies and create the prerequisites for subsequent transition to more radical social changes. The experience of the Popular Front in France in the thirties demonstrates that unless the democratic forces have such a long-term programme, even substantial successes may prove inadequate to consolidate the defeat of the reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie.

The struggle for universal peace and for the elimination of all hotbeds of war assumes special significance under present conditions. In this, too, the experience of the Popular Front should be used in its entirety, because it has shown how closely efforts to improve the international situation are linked with all other directions of the working people's struggle. All social gains of the working class and democratic freedoms can be consolidated and extended only in conditions of peace, by curbing the most reactionary forces of international imperialism.

In our day the masses in all countries are voicing angry protests against the aggression of the US imperialists in Vietnam. The US intervention in South Vietnam and the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the US aggressors have exacerbated the international situation.

The Communists of the Soviet Union and all Soviet working people, in fulfilling their internationalist duty, have given and will continue to give the Vietnamese people all-round assistance in their struggle against imperialist aggression.

The ideas born in the struggle for the Popular Front have stood the test of time. They have been enriched and developed in the practical activity of the modern communist movement. And today, confronted with new tasks, we can see perhaps more clearly than ever before the significance of the change the French Communists made in their policy by advocating the unity of all popular forces in the struggle against reaction, for peace, democracy, and socialism.

In 1967 all progressive mankind will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. What a great path the revolutionary movement has traversed during this half-century! How tremendously the forces of peace and social progress have grown in the world! The Communists of all countries proudly looking back at their achievements will celebrate this memorable date under the banner of struggle for strengthening the unity of the international working-class movement and all its national contingents. The lessons of the past help the Communists in this struggle. Among these lessons a prominent place rightly belongs to the experience of the Popular Front in France.

THE INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS COMMUNIST VANGUARD — A KEY FACTOR IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Excerpt from a speech at the Consultative Meeting of
Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in Budapest,
27 February 1968

DEAR COMRADES!

First of all, allow me to convey cordial greetings on behalf of the CPSU delegation to all representatives of the fraternal parties taking part in the Consultative Meeting. We also express our deep gratitude to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for its hospitality and everything it has done to prepare the meeting and provide favourable conditions for our joint work.

The CPSU attaches great importance to the Consultative Meeting. It is called upon to decide important questions: the convening of a new international meeting of representatives of communist and workers' parties, its aims and agenda, the time of holding it, and the methods of preparing for it. Its convocation reflects the striving and will of the fraternal parties for unity, their determination to overcome whatever difficulties have arisen, and achieve a new upsurge of the communist movement.

The question of another meeting has been actively discussed in our movement during the past two or three years. Now this idea has not only gained broad recognition but is already beginning to take practical form. From bilateral consultations on the question of calling the meeting we are going on to direct collective preparation for it.

We listened with great interest to the representatives of the fraternal parties who have already spoken from this rostrum, and we are pleased to note the broad identity of views on the main fundamental question—the desire to achieve cohesion of the communist movement, unity of all socialist, democratic, and progressive forces for a more effective struggle against the chief enemy of the peoples—imperialism. The speakers put forward constructive proposals concerning the ways and forms of preparing for a new meeting. Their summing up will help us arrive at unanimous and most appropriate conclusions.

Let me set out our point of view on a question which is on the agenda of the Consultative Meeting.

We believe that the holding of international conferences is a natural necessity for the communist movement in the current situation. Of course, international ties between the parties are also developing on a bilateral and regional basis. However, it is precisely an international meeting that enables the co-ordination of communist actions in all countries of the world while preserving full independence of each party.

The internationalist solidarity of the working class and its communist vanguard has always been and will be a major factor in the world revolutionary process. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism in our day requires more imperatively than ever before practical actions to promote the unity of the communist movement and fraternal co-operation within the world socialist community. As far as the CPSU is concerned, to quote Lenin, it will continue along with other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties to “serve the cause of the international workers: . . . rally, unite and merge the workers of all nations for united and joint activities.”¹ The CPSU believes that the calling of a new meeting is dictated both by the need for unity in the struggle against increasingly aggressive imperialism and by the situation within the communist movement itself.

In a general assessment of the current international situation one can say confidently that despite certain difficulties in the communist movement and the intensified activity of aggressive imperialist circles, the main trend of world development is characterised by growth of the forces of

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 494.

revolution and socialism headed by the Communists. The world is now entering a phase in which the revolutionary forces are faced with new tasks and new opportunities open up before them.

The calling of conferences is required to strengthen the cohesion of the communist movement. It is no secret that serious differences of opinion on fundamental problems of the revolutionary struggle between some parties have come to light in the past few years. Dangerous nationalistic tendencies have appeared in certain sections of the communist movement. Uncoordinated actions weaken the blows dealt at the common enemy. It is a direct duty of the communist movement to frustrate the plans of imperialism to disunite the forces confronting it and to counter these tactics of imperialism with concerted, joint actions of all supporters of peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism.

The leading tendency in the communist movement is one towards unity. Needless to say, there are different interpretations of the unity we need and various approaches to the question of the ways, means, and forms of its practical implementation. A comradely, unbiased discussion of these problems would help us draw common conclusions and would promote better co-ordination of the actions of the communist parties in the international arena.

We favour strict observance of the self-reliance, independence, and equality of all parties. Proceeding from these principles, which are reflected in the collective documents of the international communist movement, the participants in the meeting could exchange opinions on the ideological and political basis for the further development of international ties between the fraternal parties and the standards of relations between them in the context of their independence, growing influence, and enhanced responsibility for the destinies of the peoples of their countries and of the communist movement as a whole.

It appears to us quite natural to have a frank, comradely discussion at the meeting of the questions on which the parties hold different views. This will make it possible to specify their positions and to discuss them in a businesslike manner in all their aspects, which will promote agreement on the approach to the questions on the agenda of the meeting.

The meeting is called upon to strengthen the principles of proletarian

internationalism in our movement. By a collective discussion of the pressing problems of today and agreement on joint actions in the struggle against imperialism, the Communist parties will demonstrate their desire to combine national and international tasks in their activities. This would deal a strong blow at anti-communist reaction, which seeks to make use of nationalistic ideology to split our ranks.

Of course, there are difficulties in convening the meeting. We would sincerely welcome here and at the meeting itself delegations from all communist and workers' parties, including those from which we are now divided by deep ideological and political differences. Participation in preparing the meeting, however, is a matter of choice to be decided by the governing bodies of each party.

The democratic methods used in preparing the meeting allow the parties not taking part in the Consultative Meeting to join in the preparatory work on a basis of full equality. In our opinion, in the course of preparations for and during the meeting, there is not, nor can there be, any question of condemning or "excommunicating" any party from the communist movement. The main slogan and the principal aim of the new meeting is cohesion and still more cohesion.

One cannot agree, however, to the refusal of any party to take part in a collective discussion and solution of the common problems of our movement being used for unjustifiably delaying the meeting or for discrediting the very idea of holding it. No party has the right to impose its will on the other communist and workers' parties.

Our meeting here is tangible evidence of the determination of the fraternal parties to convene another international meeting and conduct it in such a way that it will be an important stage in consolidating the communist movement, a timely and effective response to the strategy and tactics of imperialism.

By a collective discussion at the meeting of the pressing problems of strengthening the cohesion of the communist movement, the fraternal parties would give a new ideological and political stimulus to its further development, which would promote united actions of all revolutionary and progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism. The strengthening of the

unity of the communist movement and all revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism could be, in the opinion of the CPSU, the main theme on the agenda of the meeting.

Permit me to make a few observations on this question.

The struggle against imperialism, as all Communists clearly understand, must be directed not only against specific acts of aggression but also against the imperialist system as a whole and the rule of monopoly capital. We Communists must determine the main lines in the struggle against imperialism. While concentrating on the immediate problems it is important not to overlook the final goals of our movement and to establish a closer link between the immediate and long-term tasks of Communists. Only on the basis of a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of developments during the past few years can one correctly pose the question of unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces in all its aspects and formulate a platform on which to unite them.

This will require us to assess the revolutionary potentialities of the main anti-imperialist contingents.

It would be useful in the first place to reveal more profoundly the significance of the unity of the countries of the world socialist community and to determine the ways of increasing its influence on the entire international liberation movement and the entire world revolutionary process.

Another important question is the role of the proletariat as the centre of all anti-monopoly forces in the context of the changes taking place in the social structure of the developed capitalist society under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution and other objective factors. In the light of new experience we could discuss the prospects for unity of action of the Communists with the left-wing Socialists and Social-Democrats against state-monopoly capitalism and imperialism. To step up the struggle against the forces of imperialism, reaction, and war, we Communists consistently advocate broad alliances with general democratic movements, which in their actions are drawing increasingly closer and closer to the revolutionary working-class movement.

The Communists are responsible for the entire revolutionary movement. We believe, therefore, that it would be useful for the meeting to discuss the problem of increasing support for the national liberation

movement and strengthening our alliance with it. New, very important processes are taking place in this zone of the world. Because of its novelty the major political and theoretical problem of the paths of development of the newly independent countries needs to be analysed in greater depth. The further development of scientific socialism is inconceivable without summing up the social experience of this vast part of mankind, and systematic development of the offensive against imperialism is unthinkable without strengthening the ties between the Communist and national democratic parties.

These are our observations on the central subject on the agenda of the forthcoming meeting. We think that the results of its discussion should be summed up in the main document. Its adoption would be the logical result of the great work we are beginning here at the Consultative Meeting.

The main conclusions we shall draw from an analysis of the present period will have a favourable impact on the development of not only the communist movement but also of all other revolutionary forces. They will help the peoples to choose the most effective ways of struggle for their interests and will enhance still more the prestige of our movement. World communism will come out as an international force having a clear perspective of concerted political actions.

It is obvious that the main document of the forthcoming meeting should not repeat the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960. The CPSU has always been and will be loyal to the general line of the international communist movement formulated in these documents. The main line worked out at the Moscow meetings has been confirmed by life itself although nobody intends to cling to each letter of their documents. It is desirable that the main document of the forthcoming meeting should reflect the pressing problems of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and formulate practical proposals concerning united actions of all communist and workers' parties and cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces.

Like many other fraternal parties, we believe that the document arising from the meeting will contain mainly political conclusions. It is important as a matter of principle that the document should clearly

express the ideological commitment of the communist movement, its allegiance to the teaching of Marx and Lenin, and its unshakeable determination to follow the path of proletarian, scientific communism.

The question of increasing support for the peoples now struggling against armed aggression and provocations of imperialism deserves special attention on the part of the Communists of all countries both during preparations for the meeting and, of course, at the meeting itself. It is a matter above all of strengthening internationalist solidarity with embattled Vietnam.

The whole world admires the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people who are delivering devastating blows at the US aggressor and the forces of reaction. The Central Committee of the CPSU has instructed our delegation to reaffirm the inflexible determination of our Party and the Soviet people to give all necessary aid to the fraternal Vietnamese people who are upholding their sacred right to be masters of their own land. The cause for which the Vietnamese people are fighting is not only their national cause but also a vital international cause for the working-class, democratic, and national liberation movement, for all the progressive people of the world. The internationalist duty of the Communists is to come out in support of Vietnam with still greater unity and cohesion.

What do we Communists need to fulfil our responsible mission at the present stage of world development?—Cohesion first and foremost. We need unity which grows from the fundamental community of interests of the working class and is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Our Party is profoundly convinced that by working jointly on a truly collective and equal basis we can draw up a concrete plan of action to call and conduct successfully a new meeting of communist and workers' parties.

Permit me to assure you, dear Comrades, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, loyal to the Leninist tradition, will do its utmost to contribute to the accomplishment of our common tasks in promoting the unity of the communist movement and of all socialist and democratic forces.

KARL MARX — THE GREAT TEACHER AND LEADER OF THE WORKING CLASS

Report at a ceremonial meeting in Moscow on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, 5 May 1968

COMRADES!

Today Communists, broad sections of the working people, and the progressive public of the whole world are celebrating a remarkable date, the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism, the great teacher and leader of the world proletariat.

A great thinker and an ardent revolutionary, Marx has gone down in history as the man who showed the working class, all working people, and oppressed nations the path to their liberation from centuries-old exploitation and enslavement to the conquest of social and spiritual freedom.

Marx scientifically proved the need and possibility of a revolutionary destruction of the capitalist system and outlined the prospects for building a new society free from exploitation, oppression, and poverty, in which production, science, and culture would belong to and develop in the interest of the whole people.

Marx revealed the world historic role of the proletariat in overthrowing capitalism and building a communist society.

Marx's entire life was a great exploit of selfless service to the proletariat. It was incredibly difficult, with the hardships of emigration, chronic poverty, and slander and persecution by reactionary forces of the whole world. However, his rare courage and indomitable will in the struggle and unshakeable confidence in the victory of the working-class cause helped Marx to endure all trials.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

Marx's closest associate and friend, Frederick Engels, worked and fought side by side with him for the interests of the working class. After the death of Marx and Engels their cause and doctrine were brilliantly continued by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels evolved a scientific theory formulating the general laws of the development of nature, society, human thought, and the revolutionary transformation of society. The beginning of the international communist movement is associated with the names of Marx and Engels.

Under the influence of Marxism the working class becomes increasingly aware of its historic mission, the internationalist character of its struggle, and the importance of international ties for achieving its great goals. Under the banner of Marxism the working class sets up and develops its class organisations and engages in active battles against the bourgeoisie. In the struggle against trends hostile to scientific socialism the doctrine of Marx wins ever-new victories.

Under the banner of Marxist ideas the October Revolution was carried out and socialism built in the USSR, the socialist revolution was victorious in a number of European and Asian countries and in Cuba. Marxist doctrine is translated into reality by the transforming work of the peoples of the socialist countries and exerts a steadily growing influence on wide sections of the working people in the capitalist world, developing in scope and depth.

The present period of struggle against imperialism is marked by a veritable triumph of Marxism-Leninism. All progressives and revolutionaries in the world gravitate towards Marxism. The communist movement, which had only a few hundred members in its ranks in the middle of last century, has now become the world's most influential political force. The peoples seek and find the answers to their pressing problems in Marxism-Leninism. There has never been, nor is there now, another instance of such rapid growth of the prestige and influence of a theory.

Marxist-Leninist teaching is truly international. It is not limited by state borders and is the ideological basis for the international unity and brotherhood of the working people of all countries.

Honouring the memory of Karl Marx, we Soviet people are celebrat-

ing this anniversary with a feeling of utmost respect and gratitude. The revolutionary teaching of Marx belongs to the whole world, and is the priceless possession of all mankind. But we are proud that it was in our country that this teaching was put into practice for the first time in history.

"Marx and Engels", Lenin wrote, "naturally possessed the most fervent faith in a Russian revolution and its great world significance."¹ Marx had a permanent interest in the struggle against the tsarist autocracy waged by the Russian revolutionaries with such great dedication, and maintained personal contacts with many of them. He was profoundly convinced that in Russia "a frightful social revolution is imminent".²

For their part many generations of Russian revolutionaries had profound respect for Marx. His theory was their mighty ideological weapon. Our Leninist Communist Party has always been guided and is guided today by the principles of creative Marxism-Leninism in all its activities at all stages of its heroic struggle to overthrow the tsarist autocracy, for the victory of the proletarian revolution, the freedom and independence of the Motherland, the building of socialism, and the ultimate triumph of communism. Our Party will remain for ever unshakeably true to Marx's revolutionary teaching.

A Great Thinker and Revolutionary

The emergence of Marxism was not an accidental event in the course of world history. It was the logical result of all previous social development.

From the ideological and theoretical point of view, Marxism was prepared by the entire development of scientific social thought and the great discoveries in natural science. The Marxist doctrine, Lenin wrote: "emerged as the direct and immediate *continuation* of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy, and socialism."³

Marx had a veritable encyclopedic erudition and was a tireless scientist and thinker utterly dedicated to his cause. He had a profound knowledge

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, p. 376.

² Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Vol. 32, p. 444.

³ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 19, p. 23.

of all trends in social thought, the major discoveries in natural science of his time, and he made a comprehensive study of the main tendencies in the development of capitalism. Critically assimilating and creatively revising the achievements of science, he worked a genuine revolution in philosophy, political economy, and sociology, and evolved an integral and consistent revolutionary doctrine. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, published in February 1848, Marx and Engels expounded the fundamentals of the new doctrine: consistent philosophical materialism embracing nature and social life, dialectics as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development, the theory of the class struggle, and the world historic role of the proletariat.

"Like every new theory [Engels wrote], modern socialism had, at first, to connect itself with the intellectual stock-in-trade ready to its hand, however deeply its roots lay in material economic facts."¹

The Social roots of Marxist theory lie primarily in the fact that with the development of the capitalist mode of production and the growth of its contradictions a new, consistently revolutionary class—the proletariat—came on the social scene and began its historical ascent.

Marxism has its material and social basis in the proletariat. For the proletariat Marxism is a powerful ideological weapon in the struggle against capitalism. The coincidence of the class interests of the proletariat with the objective requirements of social progress and, on the other hand, the correspondence of the strictly objective, scientific Marxist ideas to the class aims of the proletariat, imparted a great transforming role and vitality to Marxist theory. Marxism has truly become not only the theory and programme of the world working-class movement but also the spiritual banner of mankind's social progress.

By evolving the science of dialectical and historical materialism, Marx and Engels effected a revolution in philosophy. Before Marx the materialists did not connect their materialist conclusions with the idea of development and failed to extend materialism to the field of social relations.

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1976, p. 115.

The exponents of pre-Marxian dialectics recognised the idea of development but divorced it from the material world, ascribing to it a mystical character.

In the meantime the realities of life demanded a scientific explanation of the objective processes occurring in society and nature as development processes. Natural science had proved the variability of organic and inorganic matter. Marx and Engels established the variability of the forms of social life and consistently applied the idea of development to history. They linked the materialist theory organically with the dialectical idea of development, demonstrated the existence of general objective laws operating in nature and society, evolved an integral conception of development, and a qualitatively new philosophical science—dialectical and historical materialism.

By extending materialism to human society and its history Marx put an end to the reign of chaos and arbitrariness in the interpretation of social phenomena.

“By examining the *totality* of opposing tendencies, by reducing them to precisely definable conditions of life and production of the various *classes* of society, by discarding subjectivism and arbitrariness in the choice of a particular ‘dominant’ idea or in its interpretation, and by revealing that, without exception, all ideas and all the various tendencies *stem* from the condition of the material forces of production, Marxism indicated the way to an all-embracing and comprehensive study of the process of the rise, development, and decline of socio-economic systems.”¹

The materialistic interpretation of history made it possible to substantiate the decisive role played by the masses, primarily the working class, in the historical process. As we know, many exponents of pre-Marxist philosophy believed that history was made by kings, generals, and individual heroes. They thus made the course of social development, the destinies of nations, countries, and of social progress, dependent on the vagaries of chance. Marx showed that the foundation of social life was

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 21, p. 57.

material production and that historical changes were primarily the result of changes in production. The workers and peasants who constituted society's most important productive force creating material wealth were the true makers of history.

Analysing the history of societies divided into classes, Marx demonstrated that the class struggle was the motive force in their development, that behind any social, political, and other changes one must see above all the conflict between classes. Emphasising the immense importance of the Marxist theory of class struggle, Lenin wrote:

“People always have been the foolish victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and they always will be until they have learnt to seek out the *interests* of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations, and promises.”¹

By applying the materialist dialectics of development to social life, Marx proved the transient character of the capitalist system and the inevitability of its downfall. Marxist theory is profoundly critical and revolutionary in its very essence. Small wonder, therefore, that it arouses rabid hatred on the part of the bourgeoisie and its ideologists. Materialist dialectics is the symbol of incessant progress, continuous renewal, and revolutionary innovation.

Marx caused a revolution in political economy by evolving a truly scientific economic theory. Exponents of pre-Marxist political economy described some essential features of bourgeois society and levelled criticism at many of its vices, but they failed to explain the inner mechanism of the development of the capitalist mode of production and its contradictions, regarding capitalism as an eternal, “natural” state of society.

By creating the theory of surplus value, Marx revealed the secret of capitalist exploitation, exposed the inner mechanism of capitalist society and its antagonisms, and proved that it was impossible for the proletariat to free itself of its exploiters without overthrowing capitalism. The theory of surplus value is truly the cornerstone of Marxist political economy.

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 19, p. 28.

The discovery of surplus value, as Engels pointed out in *Anti-Dühring*, was a great historical contribution by Marx:

"It spread the clear light of day through economic domains in which Socialists no less than bourgeois economists previously groped in utter darkness. Scientific socialism dates from the discovery of this solution."¹

The theory of surplus value disclosed the root cause of the basic contradiction of capitalism—the one between labour and capital, between the social character of production and the private form of appropriation, and it pointed to the real place of the proletariat in the social system of capitalism. This theory lies at the basis of the Marxist teaching on the decisive revolutionary role of the proletariat in overthrowing this system. That is why the bourgeoisie are particularly furious in their attacks primarily on the theory of surplus value by attempting to prove that under present conditions capitalist exploitation has ceased to exist. Allegedly there has been a "revolution" in incomes, and the relations between the bourgeoisie and the working class are based on principles of social partnership.

Life, however, gives the lie to such fraudulent conceptions. The facts of capitalist reality show that far from disappearing, capitalist exploitation has become more ruthless. Bitter social conflicts and the growing scope of the strike movement clearly demonstrate that there is not and never will be peace under the capitalist olive-trees. And it is not principles of "social partnership" but the theory of surplus value that expresses, as before, the essence of the relations between the workers and the bourgeoisie, between the exploited and the exploiters.

Marx and Engels created the doctrine of communism, thereby effecting a great revolution in men's concepts of the content and perspectives of social development.

For centuries mankind's best minds had dreamt of an ideal organisation of the social system, of socialism. But these were utopian dreams. Though it criticised the capitalist system, pointing out many of its vices,

¹ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1969, p. 243.

and expressed sympathy for the oppressed people, utopian socialism was unable to show them the real way out of their predicament.

"It could not explain the real nature of wage-slavery under capitalism, it could not reveal the laws of capitalist development, or show that *social force* is capable of becoming the creator of a new society."¹

Marx and Engels converted socialism from a utopia into a science and substantiated the conclusion that the victory of socialism was prepared by the entire development of the capitalist mode of production. Marx was the first to point to the working class as the force called upon to overthrow the bourgeoisie and build a communist society. Marx's discovery and substantiation of the world historic role of the proletariat is the most important element of Marxism.

"Hence it follows [Lenin noted] that it is not acts of benevolence by individual noble well-wishers but the class struggle of an organised proletariat that can deliver mankind from the evils caused by the exploiter system."²

There is not and cannot be any Marxism without its main element—the teaching on the world historic role of the proletariat.

Marx was not only a brilliant theorist, the founder of scientific communism, but also an ardent revolutionary and political leader of the working class, the first builder of a political party of the proletariat. Under the influence of Marx and his great associate, Engels, the nineteenth-century working-class movement assumed considerable scope. The Communist League, the First International, the formation of socialist workers' parties in different countries of Europe and America—such were the main stages in the growth of the revolutionary awareness and organisation of the world proletariat. Marx was the founder and genuine leader of the First International—the International Workingmen's Association—and the author of its most important documents. Marx and Engels promoted the transition of the working-class movement from spontaneous to organised struggle. As a result of their joint efforts the process of combining

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 19, p. 27.

² Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 19.

Marxism with the working-class movement became broadly developed even in their lifetime.

A tense ideological struggle has been going around Marxist theory during its entire history of over one hundred years. The bourgeoisie ignored this theory for a long time, then began trying to disprove it, and has been doing so in vain for many decades. Its ideologists claim that the theory of Karl Marx is outdated and that capitalism has followed a different course in its development.

Hundreds of books have been written to prove that modern capitalism does not fit in under Marxist definitions, and that Marxism is inapplicable to Western civilisation in general. Various "anti-communist manifestoes", whose sole purpose were to embellish and defend capitalism, refute Marx, "annihilate" Marxism or at least diminish its influence and check its spread, have arisen and died inglorious deaths. But, as Lenin wrote, after each such "annihilation" Marxism penetrates more and more deeply into the midst of the masses, "becomes stronger, more hardened and more vigorous".¹

The tense struggle over Marx's ideological legacy has been and is still going on also within the working-class movement itself. As we know, the first large-scale reformist attack on Marxism was undertaken by Bernstein and his followers. Some time later the majority of the leaders of the Second International took a reformist stand against creative Marxism. After the October Revolution the entire right-wing social-democratic movement adopted frankly revisionist views and repudiated in effect the Marxist doctrine of class struggle, socialist revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There is also a second front of struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism: overcoming various "left" opportunistic distortions of revolutionary theory, the struggle against "left" revisionism, petty-bourgeois "revolutionarism". The forms of "leftist revision" of Marxism-Leninism are also many-faced and varied. At one time, for instance, the Trotskyites, to cover up by "left" phraseology their capitulationism and distrust of the internal forces of the Soviet Republic, clamoured about a world

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 15, p. 31.

revolution and the overthrowing of imperialism in all countries simultaneously but ended up with anti-Sovietism and collaboration with the most reactionary forces. The activities of the Mao Tse-tung clique are a flagrant manifestation of leftist adventurist distortion of Marxism. They have, in fact, abandoned Marxist-Leninist teaching and uphold the positions of petty-bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

The communist and workers' parties see their most important duty in collective efforts to defend and creatively develop Marxist-Leninist theory.

Marxism-Leninism—the Scientific Basis for Building Communist Society

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in a new era in mankind's history, was a triumph for Marxism-Leninism. Carried out under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin, the October Revolution proved the correctness of Marxist-Leninist theory and initiated its practical application in building a new society.

Lenin, the leader of our Party, the founder of the Soviet State, a brilliant theorist, creatively developed the Marxist doctrine to conform with the new historical conditions and raised it to a new, higher stage. Lenin developed more deeply and put into practice the principal ideas of Marxism about the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the working class, and elaborated the basic problems of building socialist society and the transition to communism.

One of Lenin's historic contributions was that he disclosed in all their aspects the distinctive features of imperialism and the laws of its development, and proved conclusively that "the epoch of capitalist imperialism is one of ripe and rotten-ripe capitalism, which is about to collapse, and is mature enough to make way for socialism".¹

Developing Marx's doctrine, Lenin evolved an integrated teaching on the party of a new type—the revolutionary Marxist party, its leading role, organisational, ideological, tactical, and theoretical principles.

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 22, p. 109.

Lenin believed that the existence of a Marxist party of the working class was the first and main condition for victory in the struggle for the triumph of socialism. Only on this condition can the working class be a formidable, invincible force. Lenin embodied his ideas of the Marxist party of a new type in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which he founded.

Established on the solid scientific foundation of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party under the direct guidance of the great Lenin was thoroughly prepared for fulfilling its historic mission as the leader of the revolution and organiser of socialist and communist construction.

Stirring the masses to carry out the revolution, the Party was guided by Lenin's brilliant idea that in conditions of imperialism it was possible to carry out a socialist revolution and build socialism initially in a few countries and even in a single country. This idea of Lenin's opened broad prospects for the revolutionary struggle of the communist and workers' parties throughout the world.

The teaching of Marx and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat is of tremendous importance for the international revolutionary movement. Marx, followed by Lenin, irrefutably proved that during the transition period from capitalism to socialism the state could not be anything but a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, stressing at the same time the possible variety of its forms. Lenin's great contribution to the creative development of the Marxist doctrine was his discovery of the Soviets as a new type of state. Lenin's conclusion that the alliance of the working class with the working peasant masses is the supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat was an outstanding contribution to Marxist doctrine.

Lenin comprehensively worked out the problem of the character and tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of proletarian democracy as the highest form of democracy. The dictatorship of the proletariat deprives the capitalists, the landowners, and their minions of the "freedom" to own factories and plants and to exploit working people, of the "freedom" to manipulate the press, radio, and other mass media for brainwashing the masses, of the "freedom" to struggle to restore the rule of capital, and of the "freedom" to maintain ties with the foreign bourgeoisie

for these anti-popular aims. Waging a determined struggle against the enemies of socialism and their agents and lackeys, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin taught, ensures at the same time a great extension of democracy, proletarian democracy—democracy for the working people, i.e. for the vast majority of the population, and, moreover, not formal but real democracy under which the workers, the peasants, all working people are masters of their country and its material and cultural wealth. Therefore, proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy.

The victory of socialism causes profound changes in the political life of society. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat develops into a political organisation of the whole people led by the working class, which results in further development, the deepening and perfection of socialist democracy. Genuine democracy ensues from the very essence of the socialist system.

The theory of scientific communism evolved by Marx and further developed by Lenin is the lodestar in the building of the world's first communist society. It presents a scientifically grounded forecast of mankind's development.

Making a thorough study of capitalist social formation and tracing the trends in its development, Marx at the same time outlined with brilliant perspicacity the important contours of the future society that was to replace capitalism. In so doing, as Lenin said, Marx never made the slightest attempt to invent a utopia. As a genuine scientist Marx raised the question of communism "on the basis of the fact that it *has its origin* in capitalism, that it develops historically from capitalism, that it is the result of the action of a social force to which capitalism *gave birth*".¹

Marx predicted that society would advance from capitalism to communism in three objectively conditioned, historically logical, and inseparably interconnected stages—the transition period, the socialist phase, and the communist phase. Marx emphasised that the development of the first phase into the second would be determined above all by the development of the productive forces and the perfecting of the relations

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 25, p. 463.

of production. He criticised the theoretical and practical untenability of any attempt to "spur on history", to skip the historically necessary stages, as well as such unscientific conceptions as "barrack-room communism".

Lenin assessed highly and further developed Marx's theoretical conclusions on the transition period, communism and its development phases. Relying on Marx's ideas and the practical experience of the Soviet state, Lenin elucidated the ways of building socialism with utmost clarity and profundity. Socialism, Lenin taught, can triumph only on the basis of modern advanced technology, a powerful socialist industry, and high productivity of labour.

Basing himself on and developing Marx's agrarian theory, Lenin worked out a brilliant plan of attracting the peasantry to socialism through co-operation. In accordance with this plan the highly complicated peasant problem has been resolved in the Soviet Union for the first time in history, and the entire way of life in the countryside has been radically transformed.

Of major importance is Lenin's broad programme of socialist transformations in the cultural field, which provided for eradicating the illiteracy of the masses, bringing scientific and cultural achievements within their reach, creating a people's intelligentsia, critically analysing and assimilating their cultural heritage, asserting communist ideas in the fields of education, morals, ethics, and customs, and ensuring intensive development in all fields of culture, national in form and socialist in content.

In accord with Marxist-Leninist teaching the first phase of the communist formation—socialism—has been built in the USSR. The socialist phase has its own stages of maturation depending on the level of the productive forces, the perfecting of the relations of production, and the concrete historical situation. Besides, the existence of the world socialist system creates the prerequisites for an increasing variety of forms of the socialist organisation of society. But under any conditions the distinctive features of socialism are the existence of developed productive forces, the domination of public ownership of the means of production, the absence of exploiter classes and of the exploitation of man by man, the

process of effacing the distinctions and boundaries between the classes, planned development of social production for the purpose of systematically improving the working people's well-being, the leading role of the working class led by a Marxist-Leninist party, profound and comprehensive democracy, the social, national, and political equality of people, and the spiritual efflorescence of society.

One of the most characteristic features of socialism as the first phase of communism is known to be the distribution of material wealth between the working people in accordance with the quantity and quality of their work on the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work". Under socialism there is no exploitation of man by man, but a certain degree of inequality still exists between individuals as regards their material remuneration by society. Marx emphasised that this is inevitable "in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society".¹

Socialism is not a short stage but a complete historical period in the development of communist society. The economic laws and advantages of socialism come into full play in mature socialist society. The full and all-round realisation of the socio-economic potentialities and requirements of socialism ensures a gradual, law-governed, and natural transition to communism. The road to communism lies through the complete triumph of socialism. There is no other road.

The time needed to accomplish the socialist tasks, in particular to establish mature socialism having at its command the corresponding material and technical basis and developed social relations, varies from country to country. For those countries which took the new path when they were already economically developed, it is relatively easier to build socialism. Countries with an undeveloped material and technical basis in the initial period of socialist relations have to cover a long historical path and to solve a larger number of problems.

Thus the theory of scientific communism enriched with the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is the scientific basis for the tremendous socialist transformations now under way in countries

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 19.

of Europe and Asia and in Cuba, and has been practically embodied in the world socialist system, with its decisive advantages over capitalism from all points of view—economic, social, political, and cultural.

The communist and workers' parties in the socialist countries contribute to the theory and practice of organising socialist society. The CPSU shares its experience in a comradely way with other Marxist-Leninist parties and at the same time carefully studies the collective experience of the fraternal parties and makes use of it in the political, economic, and cultural fields.

The creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory in a given country requires consideration of the specific relations between classes and parties and other concrete conditions. The principles of organising socialist life, however, are universal. Experience shows that there are not and cannot be any forms of socialism not based on these universal principles. They would be mere "socialist phraseology" rather than real socialism.

The Soviet people led by the CPSU have traversed a great historical path. They have abolished the exploiter classes and built socialism, a society of working people. Thereby a full guarantee has been provided against the restoration of capitalism inside the country. By building a mighty state, strengthening friendship with the socialist countries, and pursuing a foreign policy of peace, we have secured a guarantee also against the restoration of capitalism from the viewpoint of the alignment of forces in the world arena. The triumph of socialism in the USSR is complete and final.

The construction of socialism in the USSR is a great world historic service rendered to all mankind by the Soviet working class, collective farmers, intellectuals, all Soviet people, and their vanguard—the Communist Party. The great plan outlined by Marx and Lenin has been translated into reality by the efforts and genius of the Soviet people.

The process of building a developed socialist society bringing its advantages into full play was marked by substantial distinguishing features in the USSR and involved the overcoming of serious difficulties. We had to solve extremely complicated problems, to build a new society without precedent in history, to strengthen the country's defence capability against capitalist encirclement, and, performing our national and interna-

tional duty to defend the revolutionary gains against imperialism. In accomplishing these tasks we had to make great sacrifices so as to be victorious in the bitter struggle against international and internal reaction. As is known, the working people of the USSR withstood the onslaught and routed all the forces of the old world who had taken up arms against the October Revolution and the young Soviet Republic, ranging from world imperialism and the exploiter classes overthrown by the revolution to the renegades of socialism—the Mensheviks, the socialist revolutionaries, and the bourgeois nationalists. The Soviet people also had to bear the brunt of the Second World War against the Nazi hordes—the strike force of imperialism.

Today also, the Soviet people give unflagging attention to strengthening the country's defence capability in the interests of peace and socialism. We are deeply satisfied to be able to say that our Motherland has hardened armed forces utterly devoted to the Party and the people, which reliably safeguard the achievements of socialism and are always prepared to give a devastating rebuff to any aggressor.

The Soviet people's steadily growing successes in the post-war period make it possible to reveal the potentialities of socialism in all fields of social life more fully, deeply and vividly with each step forward. As Soviet society advances, each of its members becomes increasingly aware of the great advantages of the socialist system.

Now the Soviet people are building communism. The contours of the communist phase were outlined by Marx and Lenin in their time.

The communist phase begins when its economic, social, and cultural prerequisites have matured within the framework of socialism. Marx wrote in this connection:

"After the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly—only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and

society inscribe on its banners: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!"¹

Guided by the great ideas of Marx and Lenin, our Party is blazing new trails in revolutionary theory and practice. Now we can see more clearly which road we must follow towards communism, which problems and difficulties confront us, and we persistently search for ways and means of solving these problems. The Party Programme and the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU present a profound analysis of the problems involved in the gradual evolution of socialism into communism. These documents and the resolutions of the plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee outline measures to secure the progress of Soviet society along the path of communist construction.

The main thing in the construction of communism is to develop the productive forces in every way and perfect the relations of production, to provide the material and technical basis of communism. Wide-scale application of scientific and technological achievements, the industrial development of all social production, the raising of its efficiency and of labour productivity must provide the basis for continued rapid growth of industry and high and stable development rates in agriculture so as to meet to an ever fuller extent the material and cultural requirements of all Soviet people.

Socialist relations of production give free scope to the development of productive forces. As these forces develop, however, the relations of production must be perfected, and this is effected not spontaneously but purposefully, under the guidance of the Party and the state.

The requirements of modern socialist production in the USSR are connected with scientific and technological progress, and the objective need to give freer scope to the economic laws of socialism necessitate corresponding changes in the relations of production and forms of management. Accordingly, the Party, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism, has outlined and is implementing major economic measures.

The new methods of economic management are based on a combination of centralised planned state management of the national economy

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 19.

with the economic autonomy and initiative of enterprises, as well as on all-round development of socialist emulation and the use of a system of moral and economic incentives.

Marx and Lenin revealed the operation of the main objective laws of socialism, first and foremost the laws of extended reproduction, planned and balanced economic development, distribution according to work, and the law of value. The use of these and other laws operating under socialism makes possible the truly conscious, scientifically grounded and planned management of all economic processes in the country.

Marx regarded the problems of reproduction and planning from the angle of rational utilisation of manpower resources and saving of labour time. He wrote that:

"hence, saving of time, as well as planned distribution of labour time among the different branches of production, remains the first economic law on the basis of collective production. It even becomes a law to a much higher degree."¹

Improvement of economic management, raising of the scientific level of planning, rational use of commodity-money relations and of such economic categories as profit, economic efficiency, economic self-reliance, development of material and moral incentives to labour both on a country-wide scale and within the framework of individual industries, associations, and enterprises, make it possible to increase production efficiency considerably and achieve optimum economic performance with a saving of all production resources.

The policy of making wide use of economic methods and various forms of economic self-reliance in organising production and distribution is a major component of the economic reform now being carried out. In this connection bourgeois propaganda has let loose torrents of misinformation and slander about a crisis of socialism and the return of the USSR and other socialist countries to the lines of the capitalist economy. This propaganda contains nothing but malicious fabrications.

¹ K. Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie (Rohentwurf) 1857-1858*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1953, p. 89.

The use of commodity-money relations in the socialist countries also comes under attack from "theoreticians" of the Mao Tse-tung clique, who in their writings distort Lenin's principles of material stimulation, economic self-reliance, and profit, depicting these economic categories as bourgeois ones.

Actually, in the socialist economy, commodity-money relations have a social content totally different from that under capitalism; they are based on public ownership of the means of production and rule out the possibility of money's conversion into capital, into a means of exploitation. They imply the leading role of centralised state planning and are used to secure a still more powerful development of all branches of the socialist economy and an improvement in the Soviet people's well-being.

The new system of management of the national economy hinges primarily on the principle of democratic centralism, which provides for the organic unity of centralised leadership and profound democracy. This principle logically derives from socialist ownership of the means of production, makes possible the most efficient organisation of modern large-scale socialist production, and most fully combines the interests of society with those of labour collectives and all citizens whose political awareness steadily grows as progress is made towards communism.

Soviet society perfects its social and political relations along with building up the material and technical basis of communism. The continuous deepening and widening of socialist democracy stimulates the activity of the Soviets, the trade unions, the Young Communist League, and other public organisations, and the participation of ever broader masses of working people in the management of the affairs of state. Elements of communist public self-government will gradually take shape on the basis of this growing democracy. It is our duty to support these elements and do all we can to help them grow and multiply.

An exceptionally wide range of social transformations and changes have been effected in Soviet society with the working class playing the leading role under the guidance of the Party. We have already done much to efface the distinctions between town and country. This work will assume still wider scope in the coming few years. Electrification, mechanisation, and chemicalisation of agriculture will impart to it an industrial

character. The raising of cultural standards in the countryside and a radical reorganisation of the peasants' everyday life will help level up to a still greater extent the conditions of work, life, and culture in town and country.

The scientific and technological revolution, the perfecting of the relations of production, the improvement of living standards of all sections of the population, the widening of the area of common ideological and political tasks, the broad dissemination of knowledge among the masses, and the working people's growing activity and organisation will promote the gradual effacement of the social and class distinctions between workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals in the economic, social, and cultural fields. There is already a rapid growth of social homogeneity in Soviet socialist society today. An intensive process of the combination of mental and physical work in people's productive activities is taking place.

The achievements in communist construction make friendship and co-operation between Soviet nations still stronger. The process of convergence of nations, interpenetration of cultures, life styles, and languages is being steadily intensified. The dialectics of this process consists in the ever greater assertion of the common Soviet, internationalist, socialist features of the Soviet nations simultaneously with the advancement of their national cultures.

In the course of communist construction a new comprehensively developed Soviet man is being moulded—a man of high cultural standards, strong communist convictions, ideological staunchness, and boundless devotion to the socialist Motherland and to proletarian internationalism.

Soviet society's half a century experience testifies that the process of moulding a new man requires the Communist Party and the Soviet state to make great efforts in the communist education of the working people and in its relentless struggle against capitalist survivals in people's minds and ideological subversion by imperialism.

The April 1968 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out that the current stage of historical development is characterised by a sharp exacerbation of the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism. In these conditions particular importance attaches

to the communist education of working people in the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, irreconcilable struggle against hostile ideology, determined exposure of the intrigues of imperialism and its ideologists, agents, and lackeys, and intensification of all the Party's ideological activity. This is one of the indispensable conditions for successful communist construction.

The road ahead has been clearly charted for the peoples of the world by those giants of science—Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The Soviet people led by the Communist Party is following that road with steadfast determination.

The building of the majestic edifice of communism in the USSR will be the best monument to these titans of thought and the best expression of gratitude to these ardent revolutionaries.

Marxism and Some Problems of the World Revolutionary Movement

Comrades! Marxist-Leninist theory is the ideological foundation of the activities of the international working-class and communist movement and all revolutionary forces in the world, enabling them to get their bearings in the most complicated situations and find answers to new problems raised by the process of social development.

The realities of daily life bear out the correctness of this theory and invariably refute the arguments of apologists of capitalism attempting to disprove the Marxist conclusions. The positions of capitalism are being eroded from all sides. Even some bourgeois leaders in the United States have to admit that their state is a "sick society"—a society where all sections of the population are apprehensive of their future, while the country as a whole is suffering a "nervous breakdown on a national scale". It would be more correct to say, however, that today it is not any individual bourgeois state but the entire capitalist system that is incurably ill. The scientific diagnosis of its disease is the deepening general crisis of capitalism.

Imperialism, above all US imperialism, which is the main force of world reaction, does not scruple to use the foulest means to check the

revolutionary process, engineering subversion and conspiracies, committing acts of military aggression now in one now in another part of the world. Contrary to the efforts of imperialist reaction, however, the prevailing trend of world development is consolidation of the positions of socialism, an upsurge of the international working-class and national liberation movements. The great communist revolution of which Marx wrote with such brilliant foresight is striding across our planet.

Today the revolutionary movement, for which the true road was mapped out by the founders of Marxism, has grown into a mighty world revolutionary process. The following three main streams interact within it:

- the revolutionary activities of the peoples of the world socialist system fighting to build socialism and communism;
- the working-class movement in the capitalist countries;
- the national liberation struggle in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The international working class and its main creation—the world socialist system—are in the focus of the modern era whose essence is transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. This principle, affirmed in the documents of the world communist movement and in the CPSU Programme, is fully borne out by the revolutionary practice of millions of people by the entire course of world developments.

The triumph of socialism in the USSR and the emergence and consolidation of the world socialist community have profoundly influenced the course of the worldwide struggle between labour and capital. The growth of the political influence and economic and military might of the world socialist system ties the hands of the imperialists and provides more favourable conditions for the development of the entire world revolutionary process.

Socialism is exerting a steadily growing influence on social progress throughout the world. The experience of the last few years has again demonstrated that despite all the complexity and contradictions of the current situation, time is working for socialism.

The time when a great imperialist power relying on its military and technological superiority could undertake "police action" in any part of the world without risking any heavy casualties has passed, never to re-

turn. The United States, which expected to have a "walkover" in Vietnam but has to fight a fierce, bloody, and hopeless war instead, is learning this by its own experience. The developments in Vietnam have vividly demonstrated the great potentialities of any people defending their freedom and independence and relying on the support of friendly peace-loving states.

The growing all-round co-operation and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community, their economic and scientific progress, their achievements in raising the working people's living and cultural standards and perfecting socialist social relations, add to the force of attraction of socialism, and increase the possibilities of political and economic support for the peoples struggling for their national and social freedom. That is why imperialism, which is suffering severe shocks and setbacks in domestic and foreign policy, is stepping up its political and ideological subversion against the socialist countries in an effort to erode them from within, to undermine the unity of these countries and the cohesion of the international communist movement.

There is no doubt that these perfidious plans of imperialism will also be frustrated. The peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are vigilantly on their guard. They are steadfastly following the path of socialist and communist construction, and nobody will succeed in sidetracking them from that path.

Comrades! Modern capitalism is increasingly torn apart by its profound, sharpening, and irresolvable contradictions. In the developed capitalist countries, those centres of modern imperialism, the working class is extending its revolutionary struggle against the very foundations of the socio-economic system based on the exploitation of man by man.

In this struggle the working class and all working people are confronted by a strong and experienced adversary—the monopolies relying on a powerful state machine. In its efforts to retain its positions the monopoly bourgeoisie tries to adapt itself to the current situation. Three basic factors are prodding it in this direction.

The first is the objective process of the development of production, which has a clearly expressed social character. The second is the historical contest with socialism. The third and last is the stubborn and mounting

struggle of the working class and all working people for their economic and political interests.

The last few decades have witnessed intensification of the process of monopoly capitalism's transformation into state-monopoly capitalism. There is increasingly wide use of various forms of direct and indirect state regulation, economic programming, and forecasting. The system of private monopolies is increasingly intertwining with the system of state enterprise. The modern bourgeois state is intervening more and more in the system of socio-economic relations, naturally with the object of preserving the bourgeois system and enriching the monopolies rather than in the interests of the people.

The Marxist, dialectical approach to these phenomena brings to light all the contradictoriness of their development. In the final analysis they are undermining the holy of holies of capitalism—private property. The entire development of capitalism forcibly brings it to the threshold of socialism, when socialism begins literally to knock at the door.

Apologists of capitalism attempt to defend its right to existence by references to the fact that in the last few decades the rates of industrial growth have risen in some capitalist countries. Indeed, owing to the scientific and technological revolution and a series of measures of state-monopoly regulation, the capitalist economy has developed more intensively than in the first third of the twentieth century.

For all its innovations, however, capitalism increasingly betrays its inability to compete against the socialist world. Even in its most successful years its economy developed at a slower pace than in the socialist countries. It should be pointed out that precisely in recent times the correlation of economic development rates has been changing still more in favour of the socialist countries. Moreover, capitalist economic growth is extremely uneven. In some countries, primarily the United States, it bears a largely unhealthy, militaristic character. No capitalist country has been able to get rid of market fluctuations. As a rule, five to six years of growth are followed by a crisis, recession, or stagnation at best.

Of late the capitalist economy has experienced new severe shocks. The positions of the two main international currencies of the capitalist system—the pound sterling and the dollar—have been weakened. The ruling

élite of capitalism is trying to find a way out of this situation at the expense of the working masses by depriving them of their social and economic gains of the past years. This forebodes a further exacerbation of social conflicts and class battles.

In the course of economic development the gulf between labour and capital progressively deepens and there is an increased polarisation of the class forces. The United States provides an example of how a handful of capitalists owning huge fortunes amounting to hundreds and thousands of millions of dollars are the actual masters and law-makers in the country's economic, political, and even cultural life. At the same time, scores of millions of people in the developed capitalist countries and hundreds of millions in the sphere of capitalist influence as a whole live in abject poverty.

The proportion of wage labour in the gainfully employed population in the United States and other developed capitalist countries grew to 80-90 per cent in the mid-sixties. The emergence and growth, as a result of the scientific and technological revolution, of new social groups exploited by capital opens additional opportunities for widening the front of the forces fighting together with the working class as their vanguard for radical change in the existing social system. This means that the exploiter class is objectively confronted by the vast majority of the population.

The Marxist proposition that the bourgeoisie will never hand over power of its own free will is valid to this day. The experience of the working-class movement, however, shows that the forms of revolutionary coercion may vary with the concrete historical conditions.

The basic problem of the offensive strategy of the working-class movement today is to help create the objective and subjective conditions for the revolutionary masses to be able to put an end to the rule of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

How can these conditions be provided? How can the masses be led to the decisive stage of struggle against the monopoly bourgeoisie? These are the questions that face the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries in all their magnitude today.

Under present conditions the scope of the general democratic tasks in

the revolutionary struggle of the working class has markedly widened, and their content has changed. Whereas in Marx's time the character of the general democratic struggle was determined by a complex of anti-feudal and anti-capitalist tasks; whereas in the early twentieth century the general democratic tasks in Russia and some other countries were regarded and solved from the angle of the development of a bourgeois-democratic into a socialist revolution; whereas in the People's Democracies the general democratic tasks of the national fronts grew mainly out of the anti-fascist content of the initial period of their revolutionary struggle, at present the expansion of the scope of the general democratic tasks in the capitalist countries follows from the antimonopoly content of the class struggle of the proletariat.

The anti-monopoly movement today includes as a component part a struggle for democratic reforms undermining the positions of the monopolies. The struggle for democratic reforms and an improvement in the working people's living conditions, while not being directly socialist, nevertheless brings the masses to realise the need for a socialist revolution.

The struggle of the masses for peace, national independence, and democracy is mounting in the capitalist countries. Of particularly great importance is the broad democratic movement for peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, for preventing another world war; and the struggle against the militarist circles of monopoly capital.

The development of these and other contemporary forms of mass struggle may lead ultimately to isolation of the most aggressive and reactionary groups in the imperialist camp, to a definite limitation of the economic omnipotence of the monopolies, and undermine their political positions. Under these conditions ever broader masses may come to realise the need for a revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism.

Success in the struggle depends on the strength of the alliance of the working class with other social strata and groups opposing monopoly domination. The broadest sections of the population—the peasants, craftsmen, intellectuals, the middle classes in the towns—can rally under

the banner of anti-monopoly tasks under the leadership of the working class. Therefore the revolutionary forces naturally seek to set up a united anti-monopoly front uniting all supporters of peace, democracy, national independence, and social progress.

It is becoming increasingly clear not only to the working class but to the broadest sections of the working people throughout the world that capitalism, which brings the peoples growing exploitation, unemployment, general insecurity, tax increases, a rise in the cost of living, economic upheavals, political reaction, "local wars" of aggression, the threat of a thermonuclear holocaust, neo-colonialist oppression and appalling poverty for most of mankind living in the former colonies, is doomed.

The facts show that the class struggle of the proletariat in the developed capitalist countries is becoming increasingly broad in scope, more profound in content, socially more significant and more representative as regards the number of allies involved in it, and that it is more and more providing the conditions for direct struggle for the ultimate goal—the revolutionary transformation of society, for socialism.

Teaching on the colonial problem holds an important place in Marx's great legacy. Regarding the colonial system as an inevitable product of capitalism, Marx emphasised the close link between the revolutionary liberation of the masses in the developed countries and the liquidation of colonial domination. In the new situation of capitalism having entered its last, imperialist stage, Lenin proved that new prospects were opening up for the world revolutionary process, that the link between its main currents is inseparable, and pointed to the inevitable growth of the national liberation movement, which "will turn against capitalism and imperialism".¹ Lenin's forecast has come true. Imperialism as a world-wide system of oppression and exploitation of classes and nations has met with resistance from all oppressed classes and peoples. The struggle of the masses for national independence is combining with the struggle for social emancipation. The national liberation movement today is an organic component of the world revolutionary process, in the vanguard of which are the world socialist community and the organised working class.

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 32, p. 482.

The epoch of socialist revolutions ushered in by the Great October Socialist Revolution marked the beginning of the crisis of the colonial system. The collapse of the colonial system became possible after the appearance of the world socialist system, the powerful bulwark of the world anti-imperialist struggle. At the beginning of the Second World War the colonial and dependent countries accounted roughly for 67 per cent of the area and 60 per cent of the population of the world, whereas today the colonial empires lie in ruins. A total of 1500 million people have thrown off the fetters of slavery.

The overwhelming majority of the countries of the so-called Third World have already won their political independence. But as Marxist-Leninist theory foresaw, this does not yet mean deliverance from poverty, backwardness, and oppression. The plunder of these countries by the imperialists continues with only its forms often being camouflaged.

The struggle for economic independence constitutes the main content of the national liberation movement's present stage. Anything like serious social progress and improvement in the living standard of the masses is unthinkable unless economic independence is achieved. But this struggle can be successful only if the newly independent countries take all measures to build gradually their own viable and diversified economies. The rate and effectiveness with which the backward, still semi-colonial, economy is restructured depend on the depth and scope of the social reforms carried out in these countries.

Gravitation towards socialism increases among the peoples of the newly free countries in the course of their struggle for economic independence. Ever wider sections of the population quite justifiably regard socialism as the only system which guarantees deliverance from poverty, backwardness, exploitation, and inequality.

There are also objective prerequisites for a transition of the newly free countries to socialism, by-passing capitalism. The countries which have taken the path of strengthening their national independence and of social progress can rely on political, moral, and economic support from the world socialist system.

In a number of countries revolutionary democracy, once it came to power, succeeded in implementing broad social reforms which laid the

basis for transition to a non-capitalist path of development. The further success of the revolutionary democrats on this path will depend largely on how confidently and resolutely they will go over to the positions of scientific socialism and be guided by revolutionary theory in their activities.

In many newly free countries the Communists play an active part in the struggle for socialism. As far back as the time of the revolutionary upsurge between 1917 and 1922 eighteen Marxist-Leninist parties were founded in colonial and dependent countries. On the eve of the Second World War there were already 38 communist parties with a membership of 117,000 in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Today there are communist and workers' parties in more than fifty countries of the Third World. Not all of them have a large membership for the time being, but their influence is bound to grow.

The problems of co-operation between the three currents of the modern world revolutionary movement, the role of each of them, and especially the relations between the world socialist system and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, on the one hand, and the national liberation movement, on the other, are known to have become the subject of shameless demagoguery in recent years.

Some leftist and nationalistic elements professing a struggle of "the world village" against "the world town" (including the socialist countries in this concept) declare that the centre of world socialist revolution has now shifted to the zone of the countries of the national liberation movement. They maintain that these countries represent the main force of the revolution. Therefore, they say, the cause of revolution in the capitalist countries depends in the long run on the outcome of the struggle waged by the liberated peoples on the former colonial periphery of imperialism.

The distortion of the Marxist-Leninist views of world revolution in this concept is quite obvious. Its authors ignore the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the historic mission of the working class, distort the essence of historical materialism, and misrepresent the concept of social progress as the replacement of one economic formation by another, more advanced one, from the viewpoint of the level of the productive forces and relations of production. They disrupt the unity of the world revolutionary process,

opposing one of its parts to the others. This divisive concept causes great harm not only to the international working class but first and foremost to the national liberation movement itself.

Comrades! Wherever in the world the class battles may be fought, on whatever soil the revolutionary process may be activated, everywhere the communist parties are in the vanguard of the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist movement, in the front ranks of the fighters for social progress.

The communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time, because at all stages in the struggle, and in all conditions, it has always remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism, which requires a creative approach to quickly changing reality.

The top-priority political task of the present-day communist movement is to restore and strengthen its unity. As far back as the dawn of the international working-class movement, Marx pointed out that internationalist solidarity of the working class was indispensable for its victory. Marx's appeal "Workers of all countries, unite!" has always been and remains the militant motto of the world working-class movement. Under present conditions, the most important task for the communist parties in all countries is unflinching observance of Marx's great behest: "To make the workmen of different countries not only *feel* but *act* as brethren and comrades in the army of emancipation."¹

Achievement of unity of all revolutionary forces is a complicated and sometimes contradictory process. The widening of the scale and the social basis of the revolutionary movement, the varied conditions of the economic and socio-political development of the countries where the communist parties operate, the different historical traditions, and other distinctions may lead to a divergence of positions and hence to differences of opinion on some questions.

The solidarity and unity of communist parties on fundamental and decisive issues by no means rule out variety in their political and tactical positions, differences in views, and assessments. The founders of

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1976, p. 78.

scientific communism warned of the danger of distorting the principles of internationalism and against attempts by some parties to impose their point of view on other parties.

In accordance with the principles of internationalism bequeathed to us by the founders of Marxism, the rule of relations between the communist parties is full democracy, equality, and mutual respect for each other's views. As early as the period of the First International, Marx and Engels emphasised that its programme "presents a general outline of the proletarian movement, while leaving its theoretical elaboration to be guided by the needs of the practical struggle and the exchange of ideas in the sections. . . in their organs and Congresses".² This holds true all the more today, when the concrete conditions of the working-class struggle in different countries have become more diverse and the forms of relations between the fraternal parties more developed.

Today each Marxist-Leninist party plans and implements its policy and tactics of revolutionary struggle independently, in conformity with the national distinctions and historical traditions of its country. At the same time, each party does its share in fulfilling common international tasks. The sovereignty and independence of the fraternal parties in their internal activities are fundamental principles of the international struggle of the working class, whose common aims demand co-ordination and unity of action of all national contingents of the communist movement. Violation of this dialectical interconnection of the national and international factors leads to distortion of the principles of proletarian internationalism, to national exclusiveness, from which it is but a stone's throw to nationalism and chauvinism undermining the foundations of revolutionary unity.

"One who has adopted the standpoint of nationalism [Lenin wrote], naturally arrives at the desire to erect a Chinese Wall around his nationality, his national working-class movement; he is unembarrassed even by the fact that it would mean building separate walls in each city, in each little town and village, unembarrassed even by the fact that by his tactics of division and dismemberment *he is reducing to nil*

² Marx and Engels, *op. cit.* p. 271.

the great call for the rallying and unity of the proletarians of all nations, all races and all languages."¹

Proletarian internationalism, which expresses the common position and interests of the working people in all countries, has always been and remains the guiding principle in the theoretical and practical activities of Marxist-Leninists. This was reaffirmed by the representatives of the communist and workers' parties at the Consultative Meeting in Budapest in March this year. The Budapest conference showed that despite all the opposition of the divisive Mao Tse-tung clique the leading tendency in the international communist movement is an ever more persistent striving for cohesion, unity of action, and intensified struggle against imperialism. The participants in the Budapest conference unanimously agreed that the international meeting of communist and workers' parties planned to be held in Moscow, the capital of the world's first socialist state, was called upon to contribute effectively to the accomplishment of this task. Our Party welcomes this decision enthusiastically.

The solution of the problem of unity of all the forces of the world revolutionary movement in the struggle against imperialism largely depends on correct actions by the communist parties. Unflinching struggle against all deviations from Marxism-Leninism, against nationalistic, dogmatic, and revisionist distortions of its revolutionary principles is a condition and a guarantee of the triumph of the cause of peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism throughout the world.

The CPSU—an inalienable part of the international communist and working-class movement—is doing its utmost to promote unity within the international communist movement. It seeks to develop friendly ties with all communist and workers' parties and to co-ordinate its actions with the efforts of all contingents of the world revolutionary working-class and anti-imperialist movement.

Comrades! The Marxist doctrine, which has stood the severe test of time, endured all trials, and been enriched with the experience of the mass revolutionary movement by the genius of Lenin, the loyal continuer of the cause and doctrine of Marx, has become the banner of hundreds

¹ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, pp. 520-1.

of millions of people who are applying this doctrine in their struggle against capitalism and imperialism and in building a new society.

Today the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin brilliantly illuminates all mankind's path to its radiant future—communism.

How is this so unusual, spectacular triumph of Marxism-Leninism to be explained?

By the fact that this doctrine expresses the interests of the working class, the most progressive class of modern society, and hence the interests of all working and oppressed people, i.e. the vast majority of the world's population.

By the fact that this doctrine truly reflects the objective laws governing the development of human society. The wider the scale of revolutionary transformations, the more clearly mankind realises the correctness of the fundamental conclusions of Marxism-Leninism.

By the fact that this doctrine is organically linked with life, with practice, is constantly enriched and developed on the basis of summing up practical experience, analysing new facts and new phenomena of developing reality and hence is ever living. The enemies of Marxism-Leninism expatiate on the alleged "obsolescence" of Marxism. They fail to understand and more often than not deliberately distort the creative character of this doctrine, its dialectics, and its development. Creative Marxism-Leninism cannot become outdated, because it is true. This is the inexhaustible source of the power and vitality of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

In our day Marxism-Leninism is being developed by the joint efforts of the communist and workers' parties on the basis of their vast experience of struggle against imperialism in widely varying concrete conditions. The CPSU, along with other fraternal parties greatly contributes to the further development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Being unflinchingly guided by this teaching and waging a relentless struggle against right and "left" revisionism, our Party at the same time constantly concerns itself with the further elaboration of revolutionary theory, with the development of all the component parts of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine—philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism.

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine is the ideological basis of guidance in the building of socialism and communism. It is also the ideological foundation and the banner of the international communist movement, of the entire struggle of the peoples for their social and national liberation.

Comrades! The 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx coincides with preparations for another great date: the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth. This is profoundly symbolic and significant. In the memory of the world's working people the name of Karl Marx will always be linked inseparably with the name of the great continuer of his cause—Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. It fell to Lenin to accomplish the gigantic tasks involved in further developing Marxist theory and applying it in practice.

Our Party has carried the great revolutionary banner of Marx and Lenin through many decades. Under this banner the working people of the Soviet Union have transformed their Motherland into one of the world's mightiest states. The unfading light of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism illuminates the path of our advance towards communism.

Today, honouring the memory of the great founder of scientific communism, we can confidently say that our socialist Motherland will achieve the ultimate goal set by Marx—the building of a communist society.

Today the international working class and all progressive mankind pay a tribute of profound gratitude and respect to the great genius of science, the leader and teacher of the world proletariat—Karl Marx.

Long live the ever living revolutionary doctrine of Marx, Engels, and Lenin!

Long live the great Soviet people, the first to have translated the ideas of scientific socialism into reality!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has inspired and organised all our victories!

Long live the world communist movement and may it strengthen its unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

Speech at a scientific session dedicated to the 50th anniversary of
the Communist International, Moscow, 25 March 1969

COMRADES!

These days the Communists of the whole world and all working people who cherish the ideals of socialism, democracy, and peace are celebrating the 50th anniversary of an outstanding event in the history of the international revolutionary movement—the foundation of the Communist International.

We know that this event took place on 4 March 1919 at the First Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow under the direct guidance of the great Lenin.

The founding of the Comintern was historically necessary and logical. It was dictated by the requirements of the revolutionary proletarian struggle in a situation where mankind had begun a radical turn from the rule of capitalism to the victory of socialism, and the class struggle both in the world arena and in most countries of the world had assumed the bitterest forms. Developments required the revolutionaries as early as possible to restore the internationalist character of the working-class movement, to bind it together with the strong ties of solidarity, to overcome the disastrous consequences of the disgraceful betrayal of the working class by the Second International.

The majority of the parties of the Second International had been already severely infected with opportunism in the period before the First

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

World War; their leaders departed further and further from Marxims and the principles of proletarian internationalism, slid into positions of reformist reconciliation with the bourgeoisie and substituted bourgeois nationalism for internationalist ideals. When the First World War began, most of the leaders of the Second International openly entered into an alliance with their national imperialist bourgeoisie, which was waging a predatory war, and took the chauvinistic path of inciting the working people in the belligerent countries against each other, and the International itself broke up into parties hostile to one another. Opportunism in the ranks of social-democracy degenerated into social-chauvinism.

The betrayal of Marxism by the leaders of the Second International and their flagrant violation of the principles of international proletarian solidarity, signified the total ideological and organisational collapse of the Second International. The international working-class movement was faced with these alternatives: either follow in the wake of the social-chauvinists and the centrists shielding them and give up their class objectives and resign themselves to the condition of submissive slaves of capital, or break resolutely with social-chauvinism and centrism and set up a new organisation capable of leading the working people in their struggle for a revolutionary withdrawal from the fratricidal imperialist war, for the establishment of militant solidarity of the workers of the world, and for the overthrow of the rule of capital. It was clear that the second path alone answered the interests of the working class and social progress.

The impassioned appeal of Lenin and the Bolsheviks to all revolutionary internationalists to restore the international unity of the working-class movement and to set up a truly revolutionary International purged of opportunism, an international organisation of a new type, resounded throughout the world. For this purpose, Lenin pointed out, determined work was necessary in the direction of a complete break of the proletarian revolutionary movement with opportunism. Under the slogans of struggle against the imperialist war and against the social-chauvinists and the centrists, Lenin and the Bolsheviks rallied around themselves revolutionary internationalists from other countries. Lenin described the growing groups of revolutionary internationalists as elements of the

emerging Communist International. He did titanic work to rally and unite the core of Communist internationalists which later laid the cornerstone of the Communist International. Creatively developing Marxism on the basis of summing up new international revolutionary experience, Lenin worked out the ideological and theoretical platform of the Comintern and the fundamental problems of the strategy and tactics of the world communist movement. At the same time, he gave constant attention to the experience of the young fraternal parties and their leaders.

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, which began the process of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, had a tremendous influence on the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries and national liberation struggle in the colonies and semicolonies. With by the great example of the October Revolution, millions of working people arose for a revolutionary struggle. The revolution swept over a number of countries and toppled the reactionary monarchic regimes in Germany and Austria-Hungary. The revolutionary tide struck with tremendous force at the very foundations of the capitalist order. In that situation the importance of international proletarian solidarity, mutual assistance, and support increased immeasurably. Communist parties were appearing in a number of countries, and there was a growing desire to set up an international organisation of Communists. With the establishment of the workers' and peasants' government in Russia new opportunities and horizons opened up for a world revolutionary struggle and real conditions were provided for founding a new, Third International.

Our opponents from the camp of the bourgeoisie and right-wing social-democracy, as well as revisionist elements in the communist movement, seek to prove that the existence of the Comintern was not justified historically and that the working-class movement could have developed within the framework of its previous forms. These allegations have been fully disproved by history.

The Comintern has great services to its credit. All its heroic history has been pervaded with revolutionary energy and enthusiasm and aimed at promoting the world revolutionary process. Operating for almost a quarter of the twentieth century and consistently continuing the cause of

Marx and Engels, the First International and the Paris Commune, all revolutionary proletarian fighters of past generations, the Comintern played a historic role in the world revolutionary process, in the upswing of the international working-class and communist movement.

The Comintern raised aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and defended revolutionary teaching against distortion by opportunistic elements. The Comintern, as the collective wisdom of the world communist movement, creatively developed Marxist-Leninist theory as applied to the conditions of the post-October epoch, drew up a political programme of revolutionary transformation of the world, illuminating the path of the emancipation struggle of the international working class and all working people.

The Comintern did a tremendous amount of work to strengthen the unity of truly revolutionary parties of the proletariat; it equipped them with Marxist-Leninist teaching, combining thereby revolutionary theory with the international working-class movement in the new historical situation. By its constant concern for the ideological, political, and organisational strengthening of the Communist parties, the Comintern helped to steel them, to overcome the legacy of social-democratism, to make them influential mass organisations, an important political force in their countries, a powerful weapon of struggle for the working people's emancipation.

The Comintern invariably emphasised the great vanguard role of the communist parties in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the world. The resolution on the role of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution adopted by the Second Congress of the Comintern said in part:

"Only when the workers have for their leader an organised and experienced party, with strictly defined objects and a practically drawn up programme of immediate action, both in internal and foreign policy—only then will the acquisition of political power cease to be a casual episode, and serve as a starting point for a lasting communist organisation of the workers."¹

¹ *Theses Presented to the Second World Congress of the Communist International Petrograd-Moscow, July 1920*, Publications of the Communist International, Petrograd, 1920, p. 7.

In its efforts to strengthen the communist parties, the Comintern raised a whole galaxy of outstanding figures in the communist movement who were a living embodiment of its theoretical competence, revolutionary energy, and selfless dedication in defending the interests of the working class.

Being in the centre of the class struggle of its time, the Comintern carried out the day-to-day guidance of that struggle, proceeding from the interests of the working class and all working and oppressed people. It always came forward as the most resolute and consistent opponent of capitalism, fascism, colonial oppression, and imperialist war.

When fascism began its offensive posing a grave danger to the international working-class movement and the freedom and national existence of many peoples, the Comintern and the communist parties operated as a great political force conducting militant activity to rally and lead to the struggle all anti-fascists and all opponents of war. In the struggle against fascism and war the Comintern worked out all aspects of a united working-class and broad popular front policy which further developed Lenin's ideas on this question. The Comintern stirred to a struggle against fascism and war millions of workers and other working people in the latter half of the thirties and greatly contributed to the common anti-fascist cause during the Second World War.

In view of the prevailing conditions and the specific situation in different parts of the world, the Comintern worked out the strategy and tactics of the communist movement, linking the struggle of the masses for their immediate economic and political demands and current slogans with the perspective of advance to a socialist revolution and direct struggle for socialism.

The Comintern worked consistently for a close alliance of the first socialist country, the revolutionary working class in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement of the enslaved peoples. It always proceeded from an understanding of the revolutionary process as a truly worldwide process in which all the forces of social progress interacted. At the same time, the Comintern rightly considered the first socialist country as its main base. The Comintern saw the building of socialism in the USSR not only as the principal task of the Soviet people, but also

as a most important factor of success for the revolutionary struggle of the international working class.

Following Lenin's behests, the Comintern attached immense importance to the national liberation movement in the colonies and semi-colonies as a component part of world socialist revolution. At its congresses the Comintern discussed the central problems of the national liberation movement as problems bound up with the general world strategy of struggle against imperialism. For example, a resolution of the Congress of the Comintern stated that the national liberation movement was "one of the most important parts comprising the great movement for emancipation which alone can lead to the victory of the revolution, not only on a European, but on a world scale".¹ The Comintern headed the irreconcilable struggle against colonialism and rendered constant assistance to the communist parties of the colonial and dependent countries. Communists were invariably in the front ranks of the fighters against imperialist colonial oppression, fearing neither sacrifices nor the most brutal persecution.

The activities of the Communist International were characterised by loyalty to Marxist-Leninist teaching, the principles of proletarian internationalism. This loyalty was cultivated by the tireless efforts of the working people's great leader, Lenin, who initiated the major decisions of the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Congresses of the Comintern, which developed revolutionary theory and exposed the irreparable harm caused by its distortions from both the right and the "left". Marxism-Leninism was always the lodestar for the Comintern and its parties. The Comintern constantly sharpened its theoretical weapons. It constantly fought against social-democratic conciliation with the bourgeoisie, against the attempts of right-wing opportunists to introduce into revolutionary theory the spirit of reformism, and compromise with bourgeois ideology and social-chauvinism. At the same time, the Comintern gave a rebuff to sectarianism and dogmatism, "left" doctrinarianism, and petty-bourgeois adventurist theories of various kinds, which doomed the revolutionary proletariat to isolation or unprepared actions. The Seventh Congress of the

¹ *International Press Correspondence*, Special Number, Vol. 4, No. 62, 29 August 1924, p. 652.

Comintern, which orientated the communist parties towards struggle for working-class unity and for setting up a united popular front, at the same time set a striking example of criticism of "left" sectarianism and dogmatism.

In the struggle for loyalty to Marxist-Leninist principles the Comintern dealt a devastating blow at Trotskyism, which attempted to impose on the communist movement an adventurous line in the capitalist countries, a capitulationist policy of renouncing socialist construction in the USSR, the notorious "freedom" of anti-party factions.

Following the traditions of the Comintern, the Marxist-Leninist parties wage a constant struggle against right and "left" opportunism, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism—all deviations from Marxism. This is an indispensable condition for their success in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism.

The Comintern always regarded the creative character of Leninism and its constant enrichment and development on the basis of profound comprehension of the experience of the class struggle throughout the world as a guarantee of its historic victories. Many parties contributed to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, strategy, and tactics in the Comintern period, and every new idea was discussed at international forums of Communists and tested by revolutionary practice.

Pointing to the danger of the exaggeration of national distinctions, the Comintern emphasised that the international, the general in the communist movement, did not contradict the national, the specific, but organically incorporated it. A common international task cannot be accomplished other than under the nationally specific conditions of individual countries and in the nationally concrete forms of the movement. In his work *"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, written for the Second Congress of the Comintern, Lenin clearly stated that the general principles of Marxism must be applied with changes in detail adapted to national and state distinctions. Pursuing this idea, Georgi Dimitrov said at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern:

"National forms of the proletarian class struggle and of the labour movement in the individual countries are in no way contradictory to

*proletarian internationalism; on the contrary, it is precisely in these forms that the international interests of the proletariat can be successfully defended."*¹

The entire history of the Comintern was a vivid embodiment of proletarian internationalism in action. The very content of proletarian internationalism widened and became richer as a result of the victory of the October Revolution in Russia and the onset of the general crisis of capitalism. On the one hand, the forces of the world revolutionary movement could now rely on the Soviet Republic, which had become the bulwark of struggle against capital, colonial oppression, and imperialist wars. On the other hand, these forces themselves, joined by millions of workers in the capitalist countries and millions of oppressed people in the colonial world, were a powerful ally of the country of proletarian dictatorship. Defining the internationalist duty of the communist parties, the Comintern emphasised that it implied placing the general interests of the international working-class movement above everything else and practising the closest fraternal cooperation in the struggle for common goals. The twenty-one terms of admission to the Comintern laid down that each party affiliated with it will be bound "to render all possible aid to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against counter-revolutionary forces" and "support not in words only but in deeds all liberation movements in the colonies. It must demand the expulsion of its own imperialists from such colonies."²

The Comintern and the communist parties inscribed glorious pages of internationalist solidarity in the history of the international revolutionary movement. We shall never forget the broad movement which arose during the Civil War and foreign intervention under the slogan "Hands off Soviet Russia!" and embraced millions of workers throughout the world. We all remember the numerous campaigns of solidarity with striking workers in various capitalist countries—the massive demonstrations for saving the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti, who had been sentenced to death

¹ Georgi Dimitrov, *Selected Speeches and Articles*. . . , p. 102.

² *Theses Presented to the Second World Congress of the Communist International*. . . , pp. 88, 90.

by a US court, and also for wresting Georgi Dimitrov, Ernst Thaelmann, Toivo Antikainen, and many other revolutionaries out of the hands of their bourgeois jailers. The international campaigns of assistance to the Chinese revolution and the Spanish Republic of the Popular Front assumed tremendous scope with the Comintern's aid at the time.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism guaranteed the great successes of the Comintern in the struggle against imperialism. This loyalty cemented the communist movement, gave it immense energy and purposefulness, and contributed to the growth of communist influence in the world.

Thus the activities of the Comintern were a major stage in the transformation of the world communist movement into the most influential political force of our time. We Communists of today seek to continue and develop what is best in the legacy, experience, and traditions of the Comintern.

There were, of course, errors in the activities of the Comintern. It did not always correctly take into account the differences in the national conditions under which individual parties had to operate, and hence occasionally it issued recommendations for which there were not sufficient grounds. It put forward the unjustified thesis that social-democracy posed the gravest danger, and therefore the main blow was directed against it at one particular period, in effect, an expression of sectarian tendencies. Unfortunately, the personality cult also had a negative effect on the activity of the Comintern during its last years. Assessing as a whole the history of the Comintern, however, its errors, which should not, of course, be repeated, stand no comparison with the great positive role it fulfilled by raising the international working-class and the entire revolutionary movement to a new, higher level.

As the Communist Party ranks swelled and as a result of the immense variety of the conditions of the struggle, leadership of the communist movement from a single centre became more difficult and corresponded less and less to realities. The Comintern itself realised the need to renew its organizational structure. Its Seventh Congress had already adopted resolutions intended to ensure greater initiative, independence, and flexibility of individual parties. In May 1943 the communist parties took the

decision to dissolve the Comintern. By that time the fraternal parties in many countries had become much stronger ideologically and organisationally and had outgrown the organisational form under which leadership of the entire movement was exercised from a single centre. As was pointed out in the resolution of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern of 15 May 1943, in the conditions of the wide variety of tasks facing the working class in individual countries, this organisational form "has become more and more outgrown . . . and has even become a hindrance to the further strengthening of the national working-class parties".¹

More than twenty-five years have passed since the dissolution of the Communist International. In that time the world has changed. The world socialist system has taken shape and is exerting an increasingly decisive influence on the course of mankind's history. The system of imperialist colonial domination has collapsed. The working-class and communist movement in developed capitalist countries has grown stronger. The ideas of socialism are winning over millions upon millions of new supporters in all parts of the world. The realities of life attest to the correctness of Marxism-Leninism and of the path which was followed by the Comintern and is still followed by the Marxist-Leninists. While reformism and the policies of social-democracy have failed to liberate the working people from capitalist exploitation anywhere, the Communists have led the peoples of many countries to victory over capitalism. The Comintern made no mean contribution to this great historic achievement.

The Comintern arose as an organisation for revolutionary action, as an International of practical deeds. The situation at that time required the Communists of all countries to pursue their activities in the world arena on the principles of democratic centralism and obligatory international discipline.

It is natural that the present situation requires other forms of international ties between the communist parties than those which were characteristic of the Comintern. Today the communist parties operate as an entirely independent force in their own countries and in the world arena.

¹ *Daily Worker*, London, 24 May 1943.

The communist parties exchange experience in the course of bilateral and multilateral meetings and consultations. International ties between communist parties and co-ordination of their joint struggle against the class enemy in our day are effected through such meetings and consultations. International meetings are a most important form of international ties between communist parties. At present the communist parties are preparing a new international meeting, which is called upon to formulate the tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle and promote unity of action in this struggle by the Communists and all anti-imperialist forces.

The need to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement and overcome the difficulties which have arisen within it is the dictate of the time. The experience of the Communist International, indeed all experience of the communist movement, shows that such unity is possible only on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism—proletarian internationalism. Aware of its high internationalist duty the CPSU will spare no effort to promote unity in the international communist movement for the triumph of the cause of socialism and brotherhood of the working people in all countries.

AN OUTSTANDING LEADER OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Article on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, published in the journal *Kommunist*, No. 9, 1972

GEORGI DIMITROV, a great son of the Bulgarian people and a true friend of the Soviet Union, was one of the outstanding leaders raised by the international communist movement. His whole life and his richly endowed personality expressed the typical features of a proletarian revolutionary, an internationalist, and a patriot. He was one of those people who at every turn of political developments, in every field where it is necessary to struggle and work, invariably lived up to the most exacting requirements of the times and dedicated themselves wholly to the cause of the working class, all working people—the ideals of communism.

In the early period of Dimitrov's revolutionary activities we see him above all as a Party leader actively working among the toiling masses, skilfully finding ways and means of preparing the masses for a revolution, educating them through their own experience, success, and setbacks. Already in that period he was a courageous political fighter and an ingenious underground activist. He did not let the revolutionary upsurge characteristic of the period before the anti-fascist uprising of 1923 in Bulgaria go to his head, nor did he panic or sink into depression during the counter-revolutionary offensive.

It was not accidental that it was he who, in 1933, came forward as an impassioned and courageous revolutionary tribune who by all his conduct converted the Leipzig trial into a trial of fascism. He demonstrated to the whole world the invincible strength of communist convictions and

exposed the baseness and spiritual degradation of fascism as the embodiment of hatred of mankind.

Such a man as Dimitrov fully deserved, of course, to be elected one of the leaders of the Comintern. And here again he showed himself in a new capacity—as a man with a clear understanding of the need to introduce essential corrections into the political line of the communist movement on the basis of the experience gained by the parties and taking into account the new historical situation. His ability to grasp the essence of developments, to lend a sensitive ear to the dictates of life, and to organise a collective effort to make new assessments and conclusions suggested by international experience, showed Georgi Dimitrov to be an outstanding leader of the international communist and working-class movement. He rose to such prominence because he was a true Marxist-Leninist, and, by all his activities in a leading post in the Comintern, personified the indissoluble link between the theory and practice characteristic of our movement. It was precisely the revolutionary practices of the mass movement that gave food to his creative thought. And his extensive theoretical knowledge was an effective and convincing means of summing up the bold and new political conclusions drawn by the Communists in different countries.

After Bulgaria's liberation in 1944 Georgi Dimitrov revealed new traits of his extraordinarily versatile personality—those of an outstanding statesman. From the first he came forward as a genuine national leader capable of showing his people at a turning point and crucial time in the history of their country the right way and prospects for its development.

After 9 September 1944, while he was still in Moscow, the numerous letters and telegrams he sent to Bulgaria contained guidelines on how to consolidate the victory. The major tasks in that period were Bulgaria's active contribution to the final defeat of Nazi Germany and the merciless suppression of the remnants of the monarchist-fascist clique and their agents. "Everything for the front, for an early final victory over fascism!" This slogan, advanced by Dimitrov, was taken up by all true Bulgarian patriots.

Victory over Nazi Germany having been won, Dimitrov concentrated on the new tasks facing the Bulgarian people. These were the struggle

for the signing of a just peace treaty and the settlement of Bulgaria's international position, in defence of its national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and for the rehabilitation of its economy, plundered by the fascists and ravaged by war.

On 4 November 1945 Dimitrov returned to his homeland after a long period of forced emigration. He headed efforts to establish new forms of state administration, persistently pressed for the conscious and active participation of the masses in the management of the affairs of state, their close unity under the banner of the Fatherland Front and the leadership of the Communist Party, and worked to create the political, economic, constitutional, and cultural prerequisites for Bulgaria's socialist development. In his responsible posts as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Dimitrov inspired and initiated such radical transformations as the proclamation of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the drawing up and adoption of a people's democratic constitution, the implementation of agrarian reform, the nationalisation of capitalist industries and banks, and other revolutionary measures.

That was the period when the community of socialist countries was taking shape. Other countries in Europe and Asia were taking the road to socialism. This road, tested by the experience of the world's first socialist state, nevertheless had a number of distinctive features. Bulgaria introduced much that was original and valuable into socialist practice, and in this we also see the contribution of Dimitrov. Highly assessed, in particular, was Bulgaria's experience of effective concerted work by Communists and members of the Agrarian People's Union under the leadership of the Communist Party, the carrying out of socialist transformations in agriculture by setting up agricultural producers' co-operatives, and many other innovations.

Dimitrov placed at the service of his homeland his vast experience as an international political leader and his qualities as an internationalist. Here again he set an example of harmony between national and international tasks. Dimitrov worked indefatigably to strengthen the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism against the intrigues of the imperialist warmongers for peace throughout the world. He upheld the integrity of

Marxist-Leninist theory, advocated concerted actions by the communist and workers' parties, and the pursuit of a purposeful common line in their policies based on Marxist-Leninist teaching. A great patriot with a passionate love for his country, Dimitrov was a true friend of the Soviet Union, a consistent and staunch champion of the inviolable Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, and saw in it—in the class solidarity of the working class and the working masses of the whole world with the first socialist country—the highest manifestation of proletarian internationalism. The centuries-old feelings of fraternity between the peoples of our two countries were expressed in the first Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, signed in Moscow in March 1948.

Dimitrov's report at the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in December 1948 was an outstanding political document. In it he reviewed the path traversed by the BCP and People's Democratic Bulgaria, and formulated the key tasks in laying the foundations of socialism in the country. Dimitrov had prepared it by long and thorough efforts. He continued this work in Moscow, which he visited at that time and where he worked for about three months with Bulgarian comrades on a draft of this document which provided the basis for the struggle for a socialist Bulgaria. Also at that time, Dimitrov and other Bulgarian comrades had discussions in the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. The document they drew up greatly promoted understanding of the essence of the system of People's Democracy as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat, and the consolidation and development of socialism in Bulgaria. It was also of great international significance.

I was fortunate enough to attend the Fifth Congress of the BCP as a member of the CPSU delegation together with other delegates of the fraternal parties.

The Congress listened with keen attention to Dimitrov's report, which was profound in content and brilliant in form. He reviewed the principal stages in the development of the Party, which, in the course of three decades, had grown and consolidated as a Marxist-Leninist party—the organised, forward-looking, and conscious vanguard of the Bulgarian working class.

Dimitrov emphasised that the popular uprising of 9 September 1944, which was victorious with the decisive assistance of the Soviet Army, had opened the way for socialist construction in Bulgaria, and he went on to draw the following general conclusion from the experience of the development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

"Bulgaria's experience confirmed the thesis of Lenin. . . that under decaying capitalism, when the inherent insoluble crisis of bourgeois democracy gives birth to fascism, no serious and lasting democratic changes are possible, no progress is feasible without attacking the very foundations of capitalism, without taking steps in the direction of socialism. In this our country's task was greatly eased by the fraternal aid received from a strong socialist state—the USSR."¹

Dwelling on the fundamental transformations and changes in the alignment of class and political forces in the country, Dimitrov emphasised that Soviet assistance made it possible to raise the question of the transition to building the foundations of socialism in Bulgaria as a pressing vital and practical task.

Of exceptionally great significance is that part of Dimitrov's report in which he, basing himself on Marxist-Leninist theory, analysed a number of fundamental problems in the transition period from capitalism to socialism in the people's democracies—concerning the character, role, and prospects of people's democracy and a people's democratic state. Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist principles on the basic laws of the transition period, and also from the experience already accumulated in the development of people's democracy, Dimitrov concluded that the people's democratic system served—just as the Soviet system had at one time—to eradicate capitalist elements and organise socialist construction, i.e. performed the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"According to Marxism-Leninism [Dimitrov said] the Soviet regime and people's democracy are two forms of one and the same rule—the rule of the working class in alliance with and at the head of the working people from towns and villages. They are two forms of the dicta-

¹ Georgi Dimitrov, *Selected Speeches and Articles*, p. 229.

torship of the proletariat. The particular form of transition from capitalism to socialism in Bulgaria does not and cannot alter the basic laws of the transition period from capitalism to socialism which are valid for all countries."¹

The definition given by Dimitrov for the people's democratic system, which introduced the necessary clarity into the question of the ways and means of development in the people's democracies, Bulgaria in particular, opened before the Party and the Bulgarian working people a clear perspective of development and contributed significantly to working out the theoretical problems involved in the struggle for socialism.

The thoughts and deeds of Georgi Dimitrov live on in the work of the Bulgarian people, in the practice of fraternal Soviet-Bulgarian co-operation. He remains for us the most brilliant symbol of the indissoluble ties of friendship and solidarity between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, of the loyalty of the Communists of our countries to socialist ideals—the great Marxist-Leninist teaching.

The thoughts and deeds of this outstanding leader of the world communist movement are conclusive evidence that the Communists derive their confidence in victory from Marxist-Leninist science, whose strength lies in its indissoluble links with the revolutionary practice of the working class—the broad masses of working people.

¹ Dimitrov, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

TRANSLATE THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE INTO PRACTICAL DEEDS

Speech at a meeting with a US Senate delegation, Moscow,
30 June 1975

ESTEEMED Messrs Senators Mr Scott and Mr Humphrey, esteemed members of the US Senate.

It is a little over a year since a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet visited the United States on the invitation of the US Congress. And now we are welcoming here a US Senate delegation on a return visit. Your coming here, as well as the expected visit of a delegation from the Congress House of Representatives in August, confirms our opinion that favourable opportunities are opening up for widening direct contacts between the parliaments of our two countries.

I think you will agree with me that your present return visit can be regarded as a logical result of the general improvement in the climate of Soviet-American relations in which important positive changes have taken place in recent years.

As we see it, these changes are not only an important component of the general process of relaxation of international tensions, but they have in turn exerted and continue to exert a favourable influence on the international situation as a whole, lessening, above all, the menace of a thermonuclear world war and helping to affirm the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states with different social systems.

Direct personal contacts between Soviet and US leaders, affording an opportunity for a businesslike discussion of problems of bilateral relations and vital international problems, play an important role in improv-

ing and developing relations between our countries. Indeed, it was as a result of the four summit meetings held in recent years that such documents of crucial importance as the Basic Principles of Mutual Relations between the USSR and the USA and the Agreement between the USSR and the USA on the Prevention of Nuclear War were adopted, and vitally important agreements and understandings were reached on the problems of strategic arms limitation.

Now the world is entering a crucial period when the task of embodying the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial co-operation in day-to-day practical affairs is assuming first priority. This process, however, is not running smoothly. Fierce resistance has to be overcome from the opponents of *détente*, in particular those who, while paying lip service to the cause of peace, are determined, in fact, to revive cold war policies and are calling for stepping up the arms race and hostile actions against the socialist countries. *Détente* can and must be further deepened.

I cannot but note that we in the Soviet Union have the impression that the opponents of *détente* in the United States have of late become more active. They allege that *détente* benefits the Soviet Union alone, that the United States and other Western countries derive no benefit at all from it. One cannot but be surprised by talk about who benefits and who suffers from *détente*, who benefits and who suffers from living in conditions of stronger peace and diminished war danger.

We are sometimes told that attempts to question the benefits of *détente* are made allegedly for purely tactical considerations of domestic politics. "But, frankly speaking, we are convinced that the consolidation of peace is much too serious a matter for present and future generations to subordinate it to some passing considerations or moods",¹ the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, recently noted in his speech to the voters.

Can there be any doubt that for all the difference in ideological convictions peace is equally indispensable for all nations, and that all states have an equal interest in eliminating the danger of a world nuclear war? This is the main basis of joint efforts to promote peace and security.

One can hardly doubt that from the standpoint of the long-term in-

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 573.

terests and the very destinies of our peoples, as well as of mankind as a whole, on the practical plane measures for effectively removing the menace of nuclear war have a prominent, one may even say, the central place in the development of Soviet-American relations.

We have every reason to be satisfied with the first achievements in this key direction. The Soviet-US Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms signed in Moscow on 26 May 1972 provided the basis for effective restriction of the growth of nuclear arsenals, and the Soviet-US Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War signed on 22 June 1973 was an important step towards guaranteeing international security.

We highly appreciate the understanding concerning a new long-term agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms reached during the meeting between the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, and US President Gerald Ford at Vladivostok. The basic principles agreed upon at the top level along with the limitation of the total quantities of strategic arms are also significant in that they contain such a new element as the first measures of qualitative limitation and also, what is particularly important, in that they are directed to uninterrupted and, moreover, steadily growing joint efforts to limit nuclear weapons. In this context I would like to point out specifically the understanding that new talks on a further limitation and a possible reduction of strategic arms will begin long before the expiry of the term of the agreement being prepared, which covers, as is known, the period until 1985.

I would like to touch on the question of the Soviet-US Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests of 3 July 1974. Under this treaty the parties agreed to end testing of nuclear weapons of over 150 kiloton capacity as of 31 March 1976, and until then to limit tests of these weapons to a minimum. (I would point out that the USSR urged a more radical agreement on this question.) The Soviet Union has ratified this treaty. The American side, however, has unfortunately not yet started the ratification procedure, linking this question to the solution of the problem of underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

The Soviet Union also attaches great importance to working out an International Convention banning modification of the environment for military purposes.

The agreements concluded in the last few years are effective in restraining the arms race to a certain extent in some fields. Unfortunately, the arms build-up has not yet ended. Without these agreements, it is true, the arms race would have been even more intensive and dangerous. The fact remains, however, that the arms build-up is continuing. This is an acute and pressing problem.

In some Western countries, the United States in particular, military budgets are being actively inflated. The Soviet Union believes that this process must be reversed. We are in favour of reducing military budgets and urge other powers to do the same. The Soviet Union has always been and remains a staunch advocate of limitation and reduction of armaments, an advocate of disarmament.

Détente can be consolidated and developed only in conditions of a consistent reduction of armaments with a view to general and complete disarmament. This lends special urgency to the task of securing the accession of all states to the agreements in this field already in force and of convening as soon as possible a World Disarmament Conference and effecting a reduction in military budgets.

Scientific and technological development generates the danger of developing new, ever more formidable types of weapons of mass destruction. The question of the conclusion by all states, in the first place the larger powers, of an agreement banning development of new types of weapons of mass destruction, is assuming first priority. We believe that by working in one and the same direction the Soviet Union and the United States could seriously contribute to this cause.

In view of the objective role played by the USSR and the United States in the world today, improvement of relations between them contributes substantially to amelioration of the international situation in the main regions of the world. In this context I would like to mention the continent of Europe. Definite positive changes in the approach to solving the important problem of European security have taken place here.

The second round of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in

Europe, which is being held in Geneva, is nearing completion. Considerable progress has been achieved. The implementation of the relevant agreements contained in the joint Soviet-American documents has indisputably promoted this progress to a certain extent. The stand taken by some West European countries on a number of issues, however, is an obstacle to its successful conclusion. We believe that the United States could more actively promote a speedy transition to the final stage of the Conference. We are convinced that important new steps can be taken towards a more stable peace in Europe and the rest of the world. A successful conclusion of the high-level European Conference in the near future would definitely be a step in this direction.

A few words about the Vienna talks on a reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. It is clear to all that a mutually acceptable agreement on this question would serve to diminish the tensions resulting from the confrontation of the two military alliances in Central Europe. The main element in our approach is the principle that a reduction of armed forces and armaments here must not upset the balance in this region or harm the security of either side.

Permit me to draw your attention to the Middle East situation.

I shall allow myself to remind you of our stand. The Soviet Union consistently advocates the solution of the main, key problems of a settlement, without which it is impossible to secure lasting peace in the Middle East. These are the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab lands occupied in 1967; respect for the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to establish their own state; and the extension to all states and peoples of this area, including Israel, of effective international guarantees of independence and development in conditions of peace and security.

It is necessary to emphasise the importance of resuming a duly prepared Geneva Peace Conference to discuss the entire range of Middle East problems with the participation of all sides concerned, including representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

And, finally, one more question. There is an English expression: "last but not least." In keeping with it, I would like to touch on a sphere of Soviet-US relations to which the US Congress rather than the US Govern-

ment has made a great, though unfortunately negative, contribution. I have in mind, as you may guess, the question of trade and economic relations between the USSR and the United States.

The Soviet side has repeatedly stated that trade and economic ties between the USSR and the United States should not be linked to questions having nothing to do with trade and coming under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Soviet state, just as of any state in general. After the adoption of the Trade Act by the US Congress the Soviet Government declared that it did not deem it possible to give effect to the trade agreement of 1972 under the conditions stipulated in that Act. Naturally, one could not expect us to respond differently to the Act adopted by Congress.

Thus, grave harm was caused to the development of Soviet-US trade and economic relations as a result of the actions taken by the US Congress.

What is our view of the prevailing situation?

We shall, after all, continue to make rapid economic progress even without the advantages that would accrue from the development of Soviet-US trade. We cannot fail to realise, however, that development of trade and economic ties with the United States on a basis of equality and non-discrimination would certainly be an important factor in improving Soviet-US political relations. In this sense the latter are affected by the harm caused to trade and economic ties.

The Soviet Union is not short of partners; at present it is successfully developing trade and economic relations with some ninety countries under trade agreements providing for a reciprocal most-favoured nation treatment.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasise that the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and all Soviet people wholeheartedly support the policy of our Party and government to develop multifaceted co-operation with the United States. It is our firm belief that *détente* in Soviet-US relations can and must be further deepened. For this it is necessary that our states should take due account of our mutual, mutual rather than one-sided, interests and assume treaty obligations on a basis of reciprocity. As a matter of fact, it was on this basis that the process of *détente* was initiated. We hope that our American colleagues will take a similar stand.

THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN THE VANGUARD OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL AND NATIONAL LIBERATION

Speech at a scientific conference dedicated to the 40th anniversary
of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International made
in the Hall of Columns of Trade Union House, Moscow,
4 July 1975

COMRADES!

Some memorable events and dates are veritable milestones in the history of the world communist, working-class, and entire anti-imperialist movement. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International is one of them.

We have assembled today in a hall whose walls were a mute witness of many great events in the history of our Party and country and the international revolutionary working-class movement. The great Lenin more than once spoke from this rostrum. Many international forums of working people and their organisations took place here. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern opened here forty years ago, in July 1935. Guided by Leninist theory, creatively applying and developing it, the Congress took decisions which expressed the objective pressing needs of the international working class, and stimulated a new upsurge of the working people's struggle in all countries against fascism and the danger of war, for peace, democracy, and socialism. The documents adopted by the Congress were a substantial contribution to the development of revolutionary social thought, the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement.

In their activities the Communists are always loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which are internationalist in essence. Their approach to the vital problems of the liberation struggle is characterised by genuine creativity. They combine revolutionary principle with tactical flexibility, and boldness in advancing new slogans to meet new requirements of social life with a realistic approach to their practical implementation. It is precisely this combination, based on Leninist traditions of a strictly scientific approach, of realism, and a clear perspective that secured the high effectiveness of the political line collectively worked out by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. This is precisely what determined its great and fruitful influence on all further development of the world revolutionary process and the growth of the massive anti-fascist democratic movement.

Let us recall the international situation in the early thirties. The Soviet Union was successfully building the foundations of socialism within a capitalist encirclement, overcoming all difficulties. In the countries of the capitalist system, suffering from the aftermath of a disastrous world economic crisis, class antagonisms were sharply exacerbated and the class struggle of the proletariat was assuming a new dimension. In that situation imperialist reaction and its strike force—fascism—launched a frantic offensive against the working-class and democratic movement, resorting to undisguised brutal violence. A tragic event in that period was the coming to power of the Nazis led by Hitler in Germany in January 1933. By pushing the Nazi thugs to the forefront, imperialist reaction was preparing another world war, aiming the spearhead of Nazi aggression against the world's first socialist state—the Soviet Union. Fascism sought to establish a worldwide reign of terror of the most reactionary circles of monopoly capital, to check society's development towards socialism, and put an end to social progress.

At that difficult historical moment the Communists alone planned the correct political strategy and tactics, showed the masses the way out of the prevailing situation and scientifically defined the tasks and ways of struggle against fascism and imperialist war.

The new strategic orientation set by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern was not defensive, dictated exclusively by the need to repulse the

onslaught of fascism and avert war. It followed from the fundamental conclusion that the struggle of the working class and its allies against fascism and imperialist reaction would lead to the consolidation of the democratic forces, the establishment of Popular Front governments or similar anti-fascist democratic regimes, which would be an approach and transition to the socialist stage of the struggle. This strategic orientation was the concrete application and development of Lenin's teaching on the interconnection of the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism, and on the broad unity of the working class and other sections of the working people in this struggle. It was based on a profound analysis of the changes taking place in the world—the continued objective convergence and interpenetration of the general democratic and socialist tasks. It was a strategy of unity of the revolutionary working class with the entire democratic movement—all social forces standing for peace, democracy, national liberation, and social progress.

The policy of a united working-class and popular front was of major importance for the whole ensuing struggle of the peoples against fascism and war.

The vitality of the ideas of the Seventh Comintern Congress became strikingly manifest during the Second World War. It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union bore the brunt of the war against Hitler's Nazism, which threatened to enslave the whole world. The Soviet Union, guided by the Communist Party, made the decisive contribution to the historic victory over fascism.

During the war all progressive forces fighting against the German invaders rallied behind the Soviet Union. We highly appreciate the great role played by the anti-fascist resistance movement in which Communists acted as the most courageous and consistent fighters for freedom and pressed for the unification of all anti-fascist and patriotic forces in national or patriotic fronts. This struggle against the fascist enslavers and for national liberation was at the same time a struggle to establish anti-fascist democratic regimes. In the situation created by the victorious offensive of the Soviet Army it grew in a number of countries into people's democratic revolutions which opened the way to the victory of socialism.

The Communists' consistent implementation of the policy of uniting all anti-fascist forces formulated forty years ago was, therefore, an important condition for the peoples' advance towards victory in 1945 when, as Leonid Brezhnev said: "the rout of fascism, in which the Soviet Union played the decisive role, generated a mighty tide of socio-political changes which swept across the globe."¹

The resolutions of the Seventh Comintern Congress were aimed at further enhancing the social role of the working class and its communist vanguard. Continuing and developing the political line which was charted in that period the Communists achieved world historic successes. This found expression in their leadership of the people's democratic revolutions and the building of socialism in a number of countries in Europe and Asia and later in Latin America; in their support for the national liberation movement which put an end to the disgraceful colonial system; in the organisation of the international movement of solidarity with the peoples resisting the imperialist aggression in Indo-China, the Middle East, and other regions of the world; in the unity of all revolutionary and democratic forces in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress.

The world has changed beyond recognition from what it was forty years ago. The most characteristic factors of modern development are as follows.

First, the successful building of communist society in the USSR. This construction, its accomplishments, the combination of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism and, in particular, the completion of the ninth five-year plan, which is a long stride forward in building communism, are exerting a tremendous influence on the alignment of class forces in the world, on the entire world revolutionary process.

Second, the dynamic development and economic and political consolidation of the world socialist system—the main achievement of the international working class, the development of all-round co-operation between the countries of the socialist community. As a result of this the

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 551.

world socialist system, of which our country is an inalienable part, increasingly proves to be the decisive factor in mankind's social development. The world historic achievements of existing socialism, which has secured for the masses genuine democracy, the all-round development of the personality, and economic, social, and cultural prosperity, have a growing impact on world developments, on the conditions and struggle of the working class and its allies in the capitalist world. These achievements are a potent factor accelerating world historical progress.

Third, the new triumphs of the international working-class and national liberation movement in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism. The victory of the Vietnamese people in their heroic struggle of many years, as well as the international solidarity of the socialist countries, the anti-fascist revolution in Portugal, the downfall of the military junta in Greece, the successes for the left in France, Italy, and Japan, the appearance of newly independent countries on the world map, the growing struggle within them for social reforms, for development along the path of socialist orientation—all this clearly indicates the main trend of mankind's historical progress in the present epoch.

The whole capitalist world is now in the grip of class battles. Tens of millions of people are taking part in the strike movement. Massive strikes have broken out in Britain, Italy, France, the United States, and other countries. More and more often they assume a political character. The middle classes in town and country become increasingly involved in strike actions along with the working class. The widening of the social basis of the anti-monopoly actions leads to further exacerbation of the antagonisms between finance capital and the masses, and creates the prerequisites for stepping up the struggle for progressive social and political transformations. In this situation the Communists are raising aloft the banner of defence of democratic freedoms and all the social gains of the working people. They are motivated by the awareness that the struggle for democracy is part and parcel of the struggle for socialism.

Fourth, the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the weakening of its position, and the sharpening of all its contradictions. Today all can witness in the capitalist countries a slump in production or a sharp deceler-

ation of its rate of growth, inflation, a rapid increase in the army of unemployed, an exacerbation of such problems as those caused by the rapacious depletion of natural resources and the pollution of the environment, and so on. Social development presents ever more conclusive evidence that capitalism is a brake on socio-economic progress.

Fifth, the turn towards a relaxation of international tensions in the world arena. The USSR and other socialist countries, pursuing their consistent Leninist policy of peace, play a most important role in this process.

In our day, the Communists and all peace supporters everywhere have incomparably wider opportunities than they had in the pre-war years for stirring the masses to an active struggle to eliminate the danger of war, to safeguard and promote peace. The steady growth of the economic and defence potential of world socialism, the consolidation of the positions of the revolutionary and democratic forces, and the continued weakening of the positions of imperialism in the present era have not only provided real possibilities for the prevention of another world war but are also creating the conditions for its final banishment from mankind's life. This is precisely what motivated the 24th CPSU Congress to advance its Peace Programme, which embodied the results of the long years of struggle for peace waged by the socialist countries, the international working-class and democratic movement, and covered the most vital aspects of this central problem of world politics and outlined concrete, constructive methods for its solution.

We can state today that many tasks formulated in the Peace Programme are being practically implemented. This is striking evidence of the effectiveness of the peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the world socialist community, of the increased potential of the entire world working-class and democratic, anti-war movement.

The main concrete achievements of the USSR, the fraternal socialist countries, and all progressive forces in the struggle for peace are well known. Pride of place among them belongs to the transition from the military confrontation of states with different social systems to peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial co-operation between them, and from the cold war fraught with the danger of a global nuclear-missile conflict

to *détente* and its consolidation and development. This opens up real opportunities for establishing lasting peace on earth.

It is indisputable that in a situation of easing international tensions and developing relations of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems the possibilities for the so-called "export of counter-revolution" tend to diminish. However, it remains an important task for all progressive, democratic forces to maintain vigilance in the face of the intrigues of imperialism and its agents. It should not be forgotten that the forces of reaction and cold war seek as before to aggravate the international situation and turn back the clock of history.

In the conditions where the relaxation of international tensions is not only creating a new political situation in the world arena but is also producing a strong impact on the domestic situation in the capitalist countries, the crisis of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism is growing and more favourable conditions are being provided for the development of the working-class and democratic movement. As we know, the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems has nothing in common with the propaganda of "class peace" between the exploiters and the exploited, between the colonialists and the victims of colonial oppression, between the oppressors and the oppressed.

The whole course of world developments convincingly demonstrates the vitality and effectiveness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the world historic mission of the working class, which is in the focus of our epoch and is the most progressive revolutionary class of the times. The present stage of social development reaffirms the correctness of Marxist-Leninist conclusions about the regular growth of the working class and the steady enhancement of its leading role in the revolutionary struggle and in building a new society. The objective conditions for promoting political unity of the working class are growing. As the contradictions between labour and capital grow sharper and the political and cultural levels of the working class keep rising, the common features which unite in a class all the contingents and sections differing with regard to occupation and the character of labour, namely, as Lenin emphasised, its place in the historically determinate system of social production, its relationship to the means of production, its role in the social organisation of labour,

and its common interests in the struggle against the exploiters, acquire more and more importance.

Thus the key factors of modern development testify to the continued expansion and deepening of the world revolutionary process. This naturally opens new opportunities in the struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism.

Realisation of these growing revolutionary opportunities largely depends on the strength and cohesion of the communist movement and on its ability to harmonise effectively the international and national tasks of the working class and all working people and to arouse the masses to struggle. Lenin pointed out in his time:

"The greater the scope and extent of historical events and the greater the number of people participating in them, and, contrariwise, the more profound the change we wish to bring about, the more must we rouse an interest and an intelligent attitude towards it, and convince more millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary."¹

The international communist movement is the most powerful political force of today precisely because it expresses most completely the vital requirements of modern social progress, because it consistently upholds the interests of the working class and all working people, and because it is inseparably linked with and is the vanguard of the working masses.

Our Party has invariably operated and is operating as a contingent of the international communist movement. It is always aware of its organic involvement with the destiny of that movement, of its responsibility for the common cause, and for its role in the worldwide struggle for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism. Loyal to Lenin's ideas and its internationalist duty, the CPSU seeks by its policy to facilitate this struggle and the social progress of all mankind. The CPSU regards it as its sacred duty to guide successfully the building of communism in the USSR, to strengthen the world socialist system, and, hand in hand with the other countries of the socialist community, to contribute to its unity and prosperity and to bring the advantages of socialism into full play.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 498.

The CPSU regards it as its task to continue its efforts to strengthen *détente* and make it irreversible. In his speech to the electorate of Moscow's Bauman district on 13 June 1975, the General Secretary of the Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, said:

"Today the world is entering a period when prominence is being given to the task of embodying the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial co-operation in day-to-day practical deeds."¹

We resolutely reject the ill-conceived statements and inventions of bourgeois ideologists who maintain that *détente* benefits the Communists alone. Of course we do benefit by *détente*. But it is needed by and beneficial to all peoples and states. It serves the cause of world progress. This is precisely why the CPSU will continue as vigorously as before to implement its Peace Programme, to advocate further improvement in the international climate, and to strengthen peace throughout the world. In this context we attach great importance to a successful conclusion to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

The CPSU regards it as its duty to promote the cohesion of all revolutionary and democratic forces of our day and to help strengthen their solidarity in the common struggle. Our Party and country support all movements coming out against imperialist reaction and oppression, and for national and social liberation.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are responsible for their policies and activities to the peoples of their countries and to the international communist movement. This responsibility is particularly great today when the influence of the USSR, all the countries of the socialist community, and the international communist movement on the course of world history has grown immensely, when ever new masses are becoming involved in the revolutionary movement in various parts of the world, when in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution the internationalisation of economic life is accompanied by intensified internationalization of the working-class struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, and socialism.

¹ Brezhnev, *op. cit.*, p. 572.

The communist movement derives its strength from its loyalty to the great Marxist-Leninist teaching—the ideals of proletarian internationalism. At different stages of the communist movement its international unity takes forms corresponding to the concrete historical conditions. The dissolution of the Comintern, a centralised international communist organisation, relegated to the past only one form of the international unity of the communist movement, but this unity itself remains. It is alive in the common ideology, policies, and practical work of the revolutionary workers' parties and their joint struggle against all forms of social and national oppression for the great ideas of communism.

The transition to new forms of international unity conforming to the new conditions of the life and struggle of the communist parties has yielded positive results. This is evident in the world historic achievements of the communist, democratic, and national liberation movement, the successful application by the communist parties of such effective forms of exchange as international and regional conferences, bilateral and multilateral consultations on various problems of strategy and tactics in the anti-imperialist struggle, co-ordination of positions and joint foreign policy actions, international solidarity campaigns, and the steadily widening creative co-operation of Marxists in different countries in the ideological and theoretical fields.

The CPSU regards it as its important task to further strengthen the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement. Important progress has been made in this field. No attempts of the advocates of anti-communism to weaken and undermine the communist movement will prove to be of any avail. The attempts of the Maoists to disrupt the unity of the world communist movement, which are harming the cause of world socialism and *détente*, meet with an increasingly determined rebuff. Our Party will continue its persistent struggle for close international unity of the Communists on the bedrock of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It will continue to oppose any attempt to implant various opportunistic and nationalist ideas in the ranks of the international communist movement. It will strive as before to contribute effectively to the international struggle of the working class and all working people, to elaborate the fundamental problems of the world liberation

movement so as to secure fresh victories for the cause of peace, democracy, and socialism.

In drawing up plans for further communist construction in the course of preparations for the forthcoming 25th Congress of the CPSU, our Party will regard their successful implementation as a contribution to the development of the world revolutionary process, to the struggle of the international working class and its allies and of all progressive forces on earth for peace, democracy, and national and social liberation.

Allow me to extend on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU our heartfelt greetings to the participants in this scientific conference dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the Seventh Comintern Congress, and to wish you success in your work.

THE VICTORIOUS PATH OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

Speech at the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba,
Havana, 18 December 1975

ESTEEMED Delegates to the Congress! Dear Comrades and Friends!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Soviet Communists and working people we extend our warm greetings to your Congress and wish you success in your work.

Our fraternal communist greetings are also addressed to the Cuban revolutionaries—those who led the masses in the struggle against imperialism, the big landowners, and the capitalists, who led the socialist revolution, and who initiated the communist movement in Cuba fifty years ago.

We also extend our fraternal communist greetings to the courageous working class, the hard-working peasants, the people's intelligentsia, the splendid women, students, and schoolchildren of Cuba, the heroic officers and men of the Revolutionary Armed Forces—all those who are building and defending their socialist homeland.

It is a particular pleasure for me to convey to this Congress the warm greetings and best wishes of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

In these remarkable days all Soviet people have their thoughts riveted on Cuba and are following the deliberations of your Congress with profound comradely interest.

A communist party congress invariably leaves a deep imprint on the life of each socialist country. Your Congress is a historic event; it sums up the results of the spectacular victories of the Cuban revolution and

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

your outstanding achievements in building socialism, and opens up new horizons before your country.

Today we cast our mind's eye back along the glorious vistas of the truly legendary path you have traversed, which is a veritable saga of revolutionary heroism and utter dedication to the people.

"Revolutions are fruitless unless enforced by the pen in the schools and by the plough in the fields", said Jose Martí, a great Cuban thinker and patriot. The plough of revolution has upturned the deepest layers of Cuban soil. Having won freedom, the revolution regearred its powerful forces to constructive work.

Mountains have been moved, we may say. The revolution has placed at the helm of state those who for centuries did back-breaking toil for their local and foreign exploiters. It has brought to schools and universities the children of workers and peasants who could not even dream of this in the past. It has turned the country into a giant construction site. It has restored to the people their national wealth, released their pent-up forces and abilities, established social equality, and raised high the dignity of the working man.

What other country in Latin America can rightfully claim such spectacular social achievements, such a rapid and steep turn from backwardness to progress in economics, science, technology, and culture? Where else is the younger generation raised with such loving care?

All this has been made possible only by Cuba's socialist choice. Relying on the assistance of its friends it has unswervingly followed the socialist path in the face of incredible difficulties, imperialist aggression, the blockade, subversion, and blackmail. The exploits of the Cubans in their revolutionary actions are truly majestic, but equally great are their exploits in daily work and in building a new world.

The Cuban revolution—and this is the essence of its great international significance—has demonstrated strikingly and convincingly that in our day, when the alignment of forces in the world has changed in favour of socialism, even the people of a small semi-colonial country can achieve full national liberation, carry out radical social transformations, successfully overcome economic backwardness, and make spectacular progress in all spheres of social life.

Another no less important conclusion to be drawn from the experience of the Cuban revolution is that the road to socialism is reliably secured only when the revolutionaries and their party have inseparable ties with the mass of the people, are guided by the doctrines of Marx and Lenin, and are loyal to the ideas of internationalist solidarity—when the revolution is capable of defending its gains staunchly and selflessly.

You are discussing the results of the work accomplished and the problems of the country's further progress. All this has been vividly described by Comrade Fidel Castro in his profound and instructive report to the Congress.

This outstanding report is pervaded with revolutionary enthusiasm, creative spirit, truly communist principles, and internationalism.

It was with great interest that we studied the programme documents submitted to the Congress for discussion. They reflect the experience of world socialism and the time-tested general laws of its development. They present graphically the specific conditions of the Cuban revolution, the original, creative contribution of the Cuban Communists to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

We highly appreciate the broad and comprehensive approach made in these documents to socialist transformations. It is indisputable that building a solid economic basis is the chief prerequisite for real progress towards socialism. A no less important and distinctive feature of your Congress is its keen attention to the problems of ideological struggle, communist upbringing, education, culture, and work among young people. A revolution in public consciousness and the cultural advancement of the masses are not only a guarantee of stable economic growth but also the first prerequisite for the all-round development and perfection of the personality.

We can state confidently that the Communist Party of Cuba now has dependable guidelines in all fields of internal and international life. With the adoption of these important documents the country enters a new stage of socialist development, and broad and inspiring vistas open up before it. The Cuban revolution is demonstrating its growing maturity and strength.

The tasks you set yourselves will doubtless demand stern efforts by

the Party and people. But we are confident of your success in fulfilling them. This confidence stems from the realisation that the socialist cause has become a matter of vital concern to the entire Cuban people; that the people are led by the Cuban Communist Party steed in the flames of the revolution and equipped with the experience of socialist construction; that this Party is headed by an ardent revolutionary, a remarkable Communist, a man enjoying immense prestige in the world—our dear friend Fidel!

Dear Comrades! The Cuban revolution has not only radically changed the image of your country, it has also left an indelible imprint on the development of the liberation movement in Latin America. And if the prospect of a "second liberation" of the continent is becoming ever more realistic today, this is largely due to the influence of your example.

Considerable changes are already in evidence here. This is strikingly manifested in the democratic reforms already being implemented in a number of Latin American countries. The struggle of the peoples for the right to be masters in their own home and of their own national wealth is steadily gaining in scope. The Latin American states show increasing determination to affirm on the continent equitable terms of economic exchange and co-operation on the principles of mutual advantage and equality. The efforts of the imperialists to isolate Cuba and strangle it in the noose of a blockade have proved futile. Those who for years tried to wipe socialist Cuba off the political map of the Western hemisphere will have to recognise the Isle of Freedom unless they want to become isolated themselves.

Cuba's principled and consistent policy of defending the sacred right of nations to freedom and independence, of opposing imperialist intervention in their affairs, has won the first socialist state in America high prestige among Latin American countries with a common linguistic and historical heritage and throughout the world.

It is profoundly logical, Comrades, that it was here in Havana that Communists of all Latin America at their conference in June 1975 discussed the vital problems of their activities, jointly analysed the current stage of the revolutionary and democratic movement, and clearly outlined its

prospects. We, like the Communists of other countries, followed the work of our Latin American comrades with great interest.

As is emphasised in the document adopted at the Conference of Latin American Communists, the prospects of complete social and national liberation are becoming more and more clear to the peoples of the capitalist countries. The search for paths to the triumph of the ideals of social progress is in evidence everywhere. The Declaration of the Havana Conference points out quite rightly that the correct answer to the problems arising in this context can be found only in Marxism-Leninism.

For many years imperialist propaganda has been slandering the Communists in an effort to implant in the masses a distorted image of their aims, to depict them as malicious conspirators and enemies of democracy. In fact, however, as the documents of the Conference of the Latin American Communist Parties, like the other documents of the international communist movement, clearly show, it is precisely the Communists who are the staunchest and most consistent defenders of individual and national freedom, the fighters for a just social system, and champions of rapid all-round progress. It is precisely the Communists who advocate the strengthening of peace, the development of international co-operation, and the establishment between states with different social systems of relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The first to formulate these principles was Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the leader of the proletarian revolution in Russia and the founder of the Soviet State.

Communists do not confine themselves to simply proclaiming noble slogans. They struggle indefatigably, defying hardships and peril to their lives in the name of their convictions and in the interest of their class and their people—the working people of the whole world.

The history of the struggle waged by the communist parties of Latin America is a veritable chronicle of deeds of revolutionary courage. From this rostrum I wish to declare the fraternal solidarity of our Party with all Communists of the continent who are fighting selflessly for the freedom and independence of their countries, for the working people's emancipation from exploitation, and our fraternal solidarity with all the Latin American revolutionaries imprisoned in Chile, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and other countries, above all with our dear friend Luis Corvalan

who is languishing in a dungeon of fascist hangmen. Like millions of our class brothers and like-minded comrades we are by your side, Comrade Lucho! The people of Chile will regain their freedom!

Comrades! The process of big social changes taking place now in Latin America merges as a component part into the revolutionary liberation and democratic movement which is bound together on a worldwide scale today in greater unity than ever before.

Cuba is one of the most striking examples of this interconnection. Indeed, your country is an active member of the socialist community of nations. It contributes effectively to the joint planning and implementation of our common policy in the international arena. As a Latin-American state the Republic of Cuba co-operates with its neighbours on the continent in the struggle to defend their economic independence and for general progress. Cuba takes an active part in the national liberation movement and enjoys high prestige among the non-aligned countries.

This is, indeed, striking evidence of intensive interaction between the socio-political processes taking place in various parts of the world and in various fields of social life, and their integration in a common world revolutionary process.

What is true of Cuba is true also of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. We have never separated our interests from the interests of other contingents of the revolutionary movement, since we realise quite well that the achievement of the aims facing each of them depends to an immense extent on their unity and co-operation.

Such is the case, in the first place, with the struggle to fulfil the most pressing task of our day—the task of preventing another world war and strengthening peace on earth. Working in this direction vigorously and persistently, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and all progressive and peace forces have made creditable achievements in recent years. All of us know well, however, that if we rest on our oars we shall almost inevitably slide back to where we were.

We must work tenaciously to ensure strict and honest compliance with the treaties concluded between states of the two opposite social systems in the last few years. We must press for a real limitation of the arms race and, as proposed by the socialist states, for diverting the resources re-

leased thereby to fight disease and hunger and to assist the developing countries. We must maintain a maximum of vigilance against the intrigues of the enemies of peace and international co-operation in the West and the East, opposing them with the common will of all peace-loving, revolutionary, and progressive forces of our day.

This struggle to strengthen peace creates a favourable international climate for promoting the cause of world socio-political progress.

It has been recognised by all that every revolutionary contingent solves the problems involved in the social development of its country independently and in conformity with its national distinctions and traditions. However, the strength of the embattled revolutionary contingents multiplies when they act in concert, co-operating on the principles of the great Marxist-Leninist teaching. This has been graphically demonstrated by the experience of our country, the European socialist countries, and such states as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and revolutionary Cuba.

It is quite natural, therefore, that the Communists of different countries cherish the experience of their comrades-in-arms and highly value their close mutual ties, co-operation and unity of action, as well as the opportunities for jointly analysing the course of the class struggle and enriching their strategy and tactics with the international experience of the communist movement. This is precisely what Marxist-Leninists stand for, whether in Europe or America, Asia or Africa. It is on this basis that the problems involved in promoting the cause of peace and social progress can and will be solved.

Dear Comrades! Two years ago Comrades Fidel Castro and Leonid Brezhnev signed a Soviet-Cuban Declaration here in Havana. It summed up the vast experience in co-operation between our parties and states and expressed their mutual determination to preserve, develop, and strengthen the inviolable friendship of the two fraternal peoples. It is a great pleasure for us to see that the ideas of this document are being consistently translated into reality.

We Soviet people are proud to know that we stood by your side during all the hard days for Cuba. It is gladdening to realise that today the fruits of our co-operation are visible in literally every sphere of life, that the

Soviet people and the Cubans speak the common language of friendship, internationalism, and communist brotherhood.

In the recent few months and days all life in our vast country has been keyed by preparations for the forthcoming 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Every labour collective, every citizen working in the Soviet economy, all scientists and cultural workers are determined to honour the Congress by an exemplary fulfilment of their production assignments, enhancing labour discipline, and utilising all production reserves and potentialities as fully as possible. We are looking forward to the Congress with a clear awareness of the still more majestic tasks we shall have to accomplish in communist construction in the next five-year period.

Advancing to new frontiers in our steady progress towards communism we are proud to know that we are a contingent of the great revolutionary movement of our time. We are advancing hand in hand with the fraternal socialist states in a family of nations confidently building their future. And we are, of course, happy to know that in our common progress towards communism we have by our side the heroic people of your country, our loyal friends—the workers, peasants, Communists, all working people of Cuba.

We wish for you, our dear friends, from the bottom of our hearts, the accomplishment of all your plans, the achievement of the prosperity of your socialist Motherland. It is with a profound feeling of comradeship and brotherhood, with a clear awareness of our unity, that I declare from the rostrum of this Congress:

Long live the Communist Party of Cuba!

May Soviet-Cuban friendship grow from strength to strength!

Long live peace!

Long live communism!

Dear Comrades! It is a great pleasure for me to perform the request of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, to convey his message to your Congress.

A CONVINCING EXAMPLE OF EXISTING SOCIALISM

Speech at the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, 20 May 1976

DEAR COMRADES,

Permit me to convey to you, delegates to the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and all Communists and working people of the German Democratic Republic fraternal greeting from our Leninist Party, its Central Committee, and the whole of the Soviet people, and to wish you success in the work of the Congress.

It gives me great satisfaction to carry out the mission personally entrusted to me by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, to pass on to you cordial congratulations and the very best wishes.

We all of us have been very much impressed by the report of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany made by Comrade Erich Honecker. The picture given in this deep and instructive document of the outstanding achievements in the economic and socio-political life of the GDR in raising the people's welfare and in developing science and culture cannot but cause rejoicing among all the patriots in your country and all your foreign friends and like-minded comrades. It is the cause of rejoicing among Soviet Communists and all the Soviet people, who see the people of the GDR as their reliable ally and companion in arms in the struggle for the common cause of communism.

In these days, when the highest body of the Socialist Unity Party of

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

Germany is in session, the historic scale of your achievements in building socialism makes itself felt with particular force.

Three decades ago, Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl, proclaiming the political union of the working class in the new Germany, thereby expressed its determination to shoulder responsibility for the country's future, to lead it on the path of anti-fascist democratic and then socialist revolution. By that time less than a year had passed since Germany's liberation from the Nazi plague. Not all could then appreciate the significance of that historic event. But that significance became clearer and clearer with each successive stage in the development of the German workers' and peasants' state. It is revealed in full now, when the SUPG, having become the acknowledged vanguard of the people of the GDR, is summing up its work over the past years, setting the tasks for the coming five-year period, and adopting a new Party programme.

We congratulate with all our hearts the workers and peasants, the workers in public education and public health, in science and in culture, the women and youth, all parties and organisations of the National Front of the Republic on the successful implementation of deep revolutionary transformations and the entry into the stage of building developed socialism in the native country of those who founded the great revolutionary teaching—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

From our own experience and from the experience of the other fraternal parties we are well aware what factors are of the most decisive significance for translating plans for building a new society into reality. The achievements with which the SUPG has come to its Ninth Congress are the clearest proof that the Party is pursuing the correct political line based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and is creatively applying the general laws of socialist construction to the particular conditions in the GDR.

These achievements bear witness to the labour and political activity of the working class, the co-operative peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia, to their entire support for the political course pursued by the SUPG and its Central Committee headed by that distinguished figure in the international communist and working-class movement, that staunch fighter against fascism, our great friend, Comrade Erich Honecker.

Dear Comrades, the confident and dynamic progress of the GDR, as of the other fraternal socialist countries, is of great significance not only nationally but internationally as well. It contributes to increasing the economic might and political influence of the socialist community of nations and redoubles the power of attraction of communist ideals.

In the years immediately following the Great October Revolution Lenin pointed out that the triumphant working class would exert its main influence over the course of world development by force of example and by its real achievements in building a new life. That was true at the dawn of the revolutionary epoch, when socialism was represented by one nation, the Soviet Republic, which was only beginning to transform society. It is all the more true now, when the example of socialism is composed of the rich and diverse experience of a friendly family of socialist states, when developed socialism has been built in the Soviet Union and the same task has been placed on the order of the day in the GDR and a number of other fraternal countries.

In present-day conditions the example of existing socialism is of particular significance. The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the decline in production, the rise in inflation, taxation, and mass unemployment more and more tangibly show that the system based on social and national oppression and inequality is historically doomed. Millions upon millions of people all over the world are coming to understand that only socialism can supply the answer to the urgent problems raised by history and ensure for all peoples the conditions for free development and prosperity.

The historical process in the present-day world is developing against a background of acute ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism. In their efforts to prevent the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas, the imperialists and their henchmen use slander and misinformation to distort the picture of life in the socialist countries and inflate the slightest difficulties which arise in the intricate task of building a new world. But no matter how the champions of capitalism try, the indisputable advantage is on the side of socialism. Its historic superiorities over capitalism are continually growing owing to the constructive work of the fraternal parties and the popular masses for a steady rise in the economy and cul-

ture, the raising of the working people's living standards, the further development of socialist democracy, and the building of new, genuinely fraternal relations between peoples.

We highly appreciate what our German comrades are doing to fulfil this task. Particular mention should be made of the beneficial results of the consistent efforts made by the SUPG to overcome the nationalistic and chauvinistic prejudices which were cultivated by German imperialism and Nazism, to educate a new man distinguished by dedication to the lofty ideals of socialism, by a sense of collectivism and comradeship, and by awareness of internationalist solidarity. This, more than anything else, said Comrade Leonid Brezhnev in his speech on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the GDR, shows the superiority of the socialist system to the capitalist, the superiority of communist ideology to bourgeois ideology.

Dear friends, one of the most outstanding successes of the recent past was the general recognition of the GDR's sovereignty, the assertion on a broad international scale of the inviolability of the German socialist state's borders, its admission to the UN. This achievement was the direct result of the high-principled foreign policy of peace pursued by the GDR and the growth of its international prestige. At the same time it was splendid proof that the concerted foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community allows the fulfilment of the urgent tasks facing individual socialist states as well as the general strengthening of the world socialist system as a whole.

The solidarity of the socialist countries, their united action in the world arena, are of substantial significance for success in the liberation struggle of the peoples of the world. Our joint initiatives to strengthen peace and the security of nations, supported by the international working-class and national liberation movements and all progressive and peace forces, provided the basis for the beneficial process of clearing the international atmosphere and for establishing the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

We all know how difficult it is to develop the process of relaxing international tensions, how obstinately this is resisted by the forces of reaction and militarism, in whose camp the American hawks, the West German

revanchists, and the Maoists have joined forces today on an anti-communist, anti-socialist, and anti-Soviet platform. Unfortunately, there are politicians also in other countries and political circles who wink at the militaristic ambitions of the opponents of *détente*.

This is a dangerous game. Any attempt to provoke a new aggravation of international tension and to hurl mankind back into the cold war is a threat to the cause of peace and a threat to all peoples and states regardless of their socio-political systems.

Peace is indivisible; its maintenance is the responsibility of all political parties and leaders who have any influence on the working out and pursuit of international policies, and they are answerable to their peoples, to the generations now living, and to those who will come after them.

Awareness of this great responsibility keynotes all foreign policy activities of the fraternal socialist states. That is what our Party was guided by when at its 25th Congress it put forward the programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

Permit me, Comrades, to express our gratitude to the SUPG for its support of that programme and for the great contribution the German socialist state is making to achieve our common aims in the international arena.

Success in the cause of peace, social and national liberation, depends to an immense extent today on the cohesion of all revolutionary, progressive, and peace forces. The great slogan of proletarian internationalism put forward by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, "Workers of all countries, unite!", was and still is the most powerful weapon of the working class and of all those who struggle with it for the world's transformation in the interests of the working people. Any deviation from the principle of proletarian internationalism can lead only to losses and defeats. All the achievements of our movement are connected with it, all our future victories will be won with it.

To defend proletarian internationalism today means in practice to work for strengthening co-operation between the fraternal parties and for developing their joint struggle for peace, security, and social progress. The forthcoming Conference of European Communist Parties will have,

in our opinion, a great contribution to make to this. Together with the other participants in the Conference the CPSU will do all in its power to make it promote greater cohesion of Communists on the principled basis of creative Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and joint settlement of the urgent problems worrying the peoples of the continent.

Dear Comrades, you are familiar with the great tasks set before the Party and the Soviet people by the 25th Congress of the CPSU. The working people of our country are now striving enthusiastically to translate those tasks into reality. And it is a great stimulus for the Soviet Communists and all the Soviet people to realise that the peoples of the great family of socialist states are advancing together with us in the same historical direction, on the same Marxist-Leninist course.

The CPSU and the Soviet people highly value the relations of friendship which unite the Soviet Union with the GDR. These relations did not come into being of themselves. They were built over the course of many years and are still being built by the Communists, the working class, and the working people in both our countries. And we feel great satisfaction at the fact that today our friendship has become a matter not only of the vanguard, but of the broad popular masses, that a community of views exists between the CPSU and the SUPG on all urgent questions of our time, and that an atmosphere of frankness, mutual respect and comradely trust has taken shape in relations between our Central Committees.

The reliable union between the USSR and the GDR is manifested at present also by the active political and defence co-operation between our countries within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, by the extremely broad economic, scientific, technological, and cultural ties, by the constant links between Party and public organisations, and by the mass contacts between citizens of our two fraternal countries. Splendid prospects for further developing and deepening our relations in all respects are opened up by the new Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the GDR, signed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and Comrade Erich Honecker on 7 October 1975.

Many kind words have been said here about our country, an excep-

tionally high assessment has been voiced of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, of the activity of its Central Committee, and of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally. We cordially thank you for this expression of fraternal feelings. Permit us for our part to assure you of the invariable solidarity of the Soviet Communists and the Soviet people with the Communists and the people of the GDR.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish you, dear Comrades, success in translating into life the new programme of the Party in building a developed socialist society.

May the ties of friendship between the Communists and the peoples of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic grow stronger!

Long live peace!

Long live communism!

BRIGHT HORIZONS FOR UNITED SOCIALIST VIETNAM

Speech at the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, 15 December 1976

DEAR Delegates to the Congress, Dear Comrades,

In the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the General Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, in the name of our Party and of all the Soviet people, the CPSU delegation ardently greets the Congress of Vietnamese Communists and the fraternal Vietnamese people.

Your Congress is an outstanding event. It is a congress of victors in a thirty years' revolutionary struggle of liberation, a congress opening the era of socialist construction in united independent Vietnam on a country-wide scale.

The contribution of the Vietnam Workers' Party and of the Vietnamese people to the common revolutionary cause, to the world liberation process is truly great. Vietnam has shown that a people which fights under the leadership of the Communists against oppressors and exploiters for freedom and independence, for the sacred right of deciding its future itself, is invincible.

The outcome of the long, hard war in Vietnam was also tangible confirmation of the fact that the balance of forces in the world arena has changed radically in favour of socialism and that a limit is being set to the rule and the tyranny of imperialism.

The Vietnam triumph provided new convincing proof of the might of

the internationalist solidarity of the socialist countries, of the communist and working-class movement, of the forces of national liberation, whose joint actions ensure the solution of problems on a world historic scale. In turn, the legendary struggle of the Vietnamese people was a stimulus to new successes for the cause of peace, socialism, and a new revolutionary upsurge of the national liberation movement.

From this high rostrum we wish once more to express our appreciation of your Party's revolutionary line. Following the wise behests of Ho Chi Minh, the founder, leader, and teacher of the Party, the Vietnamese Communists made skilful use of all forms of struggle—military, political, and diplomatic. The Party displayed a profound Marxist-Leninist understanding of the basic tendencies of our epoch. The cause of the country's national liberation and unification was organically tied in with the cause of social emancipation and the struggle for socialism. This made it possible to forge a unity of the people which was stronger than the American imperialists' war machine, stronger than their air force and navy, bombs and napalm, their dollars and their reactionary propaganda.

The CPSU and the Soviet people feel profound respect for their Vietnamese class comrades, and honour the memory of the heroes who sacrificed their lives for the triumph of the cause of freedom, independence, and socialism on Vietnamese soil.

We are proud of the fact that our Party and our people were with you in Vietnam's tense struggle against a strong and dangerous enemy. To render assistance and support to Vietnam was a vital matter for the Soviet people. The CPSU and the Soviet people could act only in that way and in no other. For the Party educated by Lenin loyalty to proletarian internationalism, solidarity with its class brothers was, is, and will be, one of the supreme principles of its activity.

Comrades! Broad and bright horizons open out today before Vietnam. They were mentioned in the remarkable report of the Central Committee which was delivered by the First Secretary of your Party's Central Committee, that prominent figure in the international communist movement, Comrade Le Duan. That report, which we all listened to with keen interest and attention, is extremely impressive in its precise Marxist-Leninist

analysis of the distinctive features of the present period, its clear-cut conclusions, and the boldness of the great plans it outlines.

The Soviet people, who themselves experienced the disasters of war and destruction, understand with their hearts and minds the tasks which your Congress has put forward. The strength of the Vietnamese people and of your Party is proved by the fact that you are thinking now not only of healing the wounds of the war, but also of the great prospects of transforming your Motherland into a flourishing socialist country, of carrying out profound social transformations in the southern part of the Republic, of ensuring the all-round development of agriculture and industry, and improving the life of the working people.

It is only a little more than a year since peace was won in Vietnam, and yet in that time you have managed to do quite a lot. Of course the main work—precisely what is being discussed at your Congress—lies ahead.

Of course the great tasks which you have put forward will take some time and energetic efforts on the part of the people to accomplish. But there is no doubt that they are realistic and feasible. Vietnam is rich in natural resources, and that is an important condition for developing key industries. Vietnam's soil is fertile, and favours intensive agriculture. But Vietnam's chief wealth is its people, its workers, peasants, and intellectuals, who love their Motherland and will know how to make it still more powerful and beautiful. Vietnam also has a tried and tested leader with remarkable experience in guiding the masses—a militant Marxist-Leninist party, the organising spirit of the Vietnamese people's victories. Under the leadership of its Party the Vietnamese people is carrying out and strengthening the time-tested policy of dictatorship of the proletariat, a firm alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

The Vietnamese Communists are setting about the historic task of building socialism on a countrywide scale, drawing on their vast experience in carrying out radical socialist transformations. We, your friends know that you can skilfully adapt the general laws of socialist development to the concrete historical conditions in your country, creatively applying and developing the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism and studying attentively the experience of socialist construction in other countries. And that is of great importance. Choice of the correct Marxist-

Leninist road ensures a great saving of time and resources and allows major tasks of socialist development to be accomplished in historically short periods. This is borne out in particular by the example of many socialist countries which are now confidently building a developed socialist society.

I wish to mention yet another factor which will beyond doubt help Vietnam to advance at accelerated speed. I mean your broad and strengthening ties with the fraternal socialist countries. Your Party has invariably sought to promote co-operation with the socialist countries. And now that long-term specific programmes of meeting the socialist countries' demand for energy, raw materials, means of transport, industrial and agricultural products, and consumer goods are being worked out within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, further possibilities are being provided for deepening economic co-operation between the socialist states.

As regards our two countries there is every ground for assuming that in the years ahead our fraternal mutual ties will grow deeper and more diverse. Already now we co-operate in prospecting mineral resources, in energy production, in developing transport, in agriculture and in the fields of education and culture. That is practical realisation of the internationalist approach of our parties, which play the determining role in strengthening Soviet-Vietnamese friendship. At the reception in the Soviet Union for the Vietnamese Party and government delegation headed by Comrade Le Duan, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev said:

"I wish to stress most emphatically that in your peaceful socialist labour you can firmly rely on the support of the Party of Lenin and the Land of Soviets. For Soviet Communists and all Soviet people, solidarity with Vietnam has been and remains the bidding of the heart and reason, an expression of our Party's and people's invariable loyalty to the principles of internationalism."¹

These words of Comrade Brezhnev express the substance of the Soviet Communists' approach to Soviet-Vietnamese relations. We shall go on

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles*, Vol. 5, p. 384 (in Russian).

doing all in our power for the all-round strengthening and developing of the time-tested friendship between our parties, countries and peoples.

Communists are hard-working people committed to peace. The first victorious socialist revolution, carried out in October 1917 under the leadership of our Party headed by Lenin, made the task of ensuring peace the central goal of young socialist Russia's foreign policy. Today the countries of the socialist community, the national liberation forces, and the communist and working-class movement are active in the struggle for the relaxation of international tensions, for removing from international relations all manifestations of imperialist tyranny and violence, and for reliable international security. It gladdens us to know that our two countries, our two parties are working together in this struggle.

We must also carry on without a respite the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, for the consolidation of peace and the security of nations, for democracy and socialism.

There is a deep-rooted and indestructible link between the cause of peace and the cause of social progress. Every success of the peace policy is a gain for the cause of the peoples' social emancipation. And at the same time every victory for the cause of freedom is a gain for the peace policy.

It is indeed a fact that Vietnam's victory not only caused a radical change in the situation in Southeast Asia, but opened up new and better prospects for the whole of the Asian continent.

The forces of peace, national independence, and socialism on the Asian continent are extending their positions. Today the People's Democratic Republic of Laos is in the same ranks as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. From the rostrum of the Congress we should like once more to congratulate our Laotian comrades with all our hearts on their victory and to wish them great achievements in developing along the path of socialism. We also hail the birth of democratic Kampuchea and wish it success in peaceful construction and social transformations.

The overwhelming majority of Asian countries are most definitely for the establishment of a healthy political climate on the continent and demand an end to imperialist interference in the affairs of the Asian peoples. It seems to us that the active efforts of all the countries of Asia, their energetic steps to consolidate security and develop peaceful co-operation

would not only bring about a radical change for the better in this most densely populated continent, but would also make for a healthy international climate in general. The Soviet Union, for its part, is ready to promote this in every way.

The Soviet Union and socialist Vietnam have been and will continue to be together in the defence of the ideals of peace, democracy, and social progress. We hold that the complicated struggle for a lasting, reliable peace, for respect of all nations' rights to free and independent development, and for social progress pursued in the international arena by the socialist countries, the national liberation forces, and the communist and working-class movement imperatively demands that they further strengthen their unity. We see cohesion of the revolutionary forces of our time, the forces of democracy and progress, as the guarantee of a happy, peaceful future for all the peoples of our planet.

Comrades! The Soviet people are working with tremendous enthusiasm to fulfil the communist construction plans put forward by the 25th Congress of the CPSU. The first year of the tenth five-year plan is coming to a successful conclusion in both industry and agriculture. On this basis the material and cultural welfare of the working people is steadily rising, which is the main purpose of the Party's activity.

Next year the Soviet Union will celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet people are honouring this glorious anniversary with hew constructive efforts, rallied round their Leninist vanguard—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Dear Friends! The delegation of the CPSU on behalf of the whole of the Party, its Central Committee, the General Secretary of the Central Committee: L. I. Brezhnev, and of the entire Soviet people conveys best wishes to your Congress. We wish the fraternal people of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam success and prosperity.

Long live the Communist Party of Vietnam!

May the revolutionary solidarity and friendship between socialist Vietnam and the Soviet Union strengthen and develop!

Long live the unity and cohesion of all the revolutionary forces of our time!

Long live peace and communism!

Part 4

Other speeches

SPEECH AT THE PRESENTATION OF THE
ORDER OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION
TO COMRADE ALVARO CUNHAL
IN MOSCOW, 22 FEBRUARY 1974

DEAR COMRADE ALVARO CUNHAL!

In presenting you with the Order of the October Revolution we are marking with this high award your services to the international communist movement, your active revolutionary work, and your great contribution to strengthening friendship between the Soviet and Portuguese peoples. The award to you, our comrade-in-arms and tested friend, of the Order named after the Great October Revolution is also an expression of the profound feelings of the Soviet people and the Soviet Communists for the glorious Portuguese Communist Party.

The Portuguese Communist Party today is a growing political force working for the establishment of a democratic system in Portugal, for the vital interests of the working people, for the freedom and prosperity of its country, and for the liberation and independence of the Portuguese colonies. Your Party actively supports the efforts of the socialist countries to consolidate and extend the positive processes of creating a healthy climate in the whole of international life.

Since the moment of the foundation of the Portuguese Communist Party, in the organisation of which you played such an important part, our parties have been united by a strong friendship. We know and highly value your untiring activity directed at strengthening cohesion in the ranks of the international communist and working-class movement and at spreading the ideas of the great Lenin, your personal contribution to the friendship of our parties; we remember your statements that indestructible solidarity with the Soviet Union, with the CPSU, is an inseparable part of the internationalist solidarity of the Communists and working

people in all countries. The Soviet Communists experience profound satisfaction at the fact that there is a community of views between our parties on all the basic questions of our time.

Dear Comrade Cunhal, your life has been the struggle of a professional revolutionary since the year 1931 when you became a member of the Portuguese Communist Party. Neither the long years of underground activity, nor torture, nor fourteen years' imprisonment were able to break your will as an inflexible fighter against fascism, for the freedom and progress of your country, and for the triumph of the great ideals of communism.

Permit me on behalf of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on behalf of all your Soviet friends, to congratulate you heartily, dear Comrade Cunhal, on your sixtieth birthday and on the award of the Order of the October Revolution.

We all warmly wish you the best of health and success in your noble work for our common cause, in the interest of strengthening peace and security in the world, of friendship between the Soviet and Portuguese peoples, of building an independent, free, and democratic Portugal.

SPEECH ON BEING PRESENTED THE DIMITROV PRIZE BY COMRADE TODOR ZHIVKOV IN THE KREMLIN, 16 OCTOBER 1974

DEAR COMRADE ZHIVKOV! Dear Bulgarian Comrades! Dear Comrades and Friends!

I am deeply and sincerely moved at being awarded the honourable title of Dimitrov prize winner.

Permit me to express my most heartfelt thanks to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for their high assessment of my social and political activity.

It is a great honour to be awarded the prize named after Georgi Dimitrov, a great son of the Bulgarian people, a staunch Leninist revolutionary, an outstanding leader of the international working-class and communist movement. Georgi Dimitrov devoted the whole of his life to the struggle for the interests of the working people, for peace, democracy, and socialism. He fought tirelessly for the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory, for the unity of all contingents of the international working class. The name of Georgi Dimitrov is a symbol of the indissolubility of the ties of friendship and solidarity between the peoples of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

As a Communist and a member of the collective leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union I have been guided in all my work by the great revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the internationalist solidarity of the working people, and have endeavoured to contribute according to my ability to the work of our Party and its Central Committee directed at strengthening peace, developing friendship and co-operation between the peoples of all countries, and leading to the triumph of the cause of national and social liberation, to the victory of socialism and communism.

SELECTED SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

I consider my being awarded the high title of Dimitrov prize winner, at the time when the Bulgarian people are marking thirty years of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, first of all as recognition of the services rendered by the whole of our Party and its Leninist Central Committee and then as an expression of the deepest and most sincere friendship between the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples and between the communist parties of our countries.

Once more I heartily thank you, dear Bulgarian friends.

Long live the victory of the cause of peace, socialism, democracy, and national liberation!

Long live the indestructible friendship between the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples, between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian Communist Party!

OPENING SPEECH AT A RECEPTION IN THE
KREMLIN ON THE OCCASION OF THE
SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY OF THE GENERAL
SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET
UNION, COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV,
19 DECEMBER 1976

COMRADES, FRIENDS!

We have assembled here today impelled by our hearts and minds to mark the seventieth birthday of our dear Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

Dear Leonid Ilyich! Today, on your seventieth birthday, we all warmly congratulate you, an outstanding figure in the Communist Party, the Soviet State, the international communist and working-class movement, a staunch Leninist, and an ardent fighter for peace.

Your seventieth birthday, Leonid Ilyich, is a great and exciting event. The greetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers give a high assessment of your work and express the cordial feelings of the members of our great Party and of all the Soviet people.

It gives us immense satisfaction to realise that the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU is occupied by a tireless continuer of the great Leninist cause, a man who is regarded with profound respect and love by the working people of our country and who has won the greatest prestige with all honest people on our planet. We are proud of the historic successes achieved by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party and its Central Committee headed by you, Leonid Ilyich, in building and consolidating a new society, in guaranteeing peace and the security of nations.

It is said that a man's life is measured not so much by years as by

deeds, by what he has accomplished. Your accomplishments, dear Leonid Ilyich, are a brilliant example for everyone who loves the socialist Motherland, is dedicated to the Leninist Party, and seeks to give all his strength for the happiness of the people, for the sake of communism.

Your biography profoundly reflects the unparalleled growth and development of the Land of Soviets. You have had the occasion to become familiar with the toil of the worker and the cares of the peasant. You have been an engineer, you have worked in government and Party bodies, you trod the soldier's road from the beginning to the end of the Great Patriotic War. You took part in rehabilitating the war-devastated economy of the most important industrial centres. You played a major role in developing the virgin lands and in preparing and carrying out the triumph in space. Invariably you have been in the most forward sectors of socialist construction.

With every year and every new Party task your talents were more fully revealed as a remarkable organiser, an authoritative leader, and a far-sighted politician. And so it was quite legitimate that at one of the most responsible stages of communist construction you, Leonid Ilyich, were the one to whom the Party and the Central Committee entrusted the most respected, the most honourable, and the most difficult work by electing you General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. And now for more than twelve years you have justified that great confidence with credit.

What stands out as most striking in these twelve years of the life of our Party, of the Soviet people?

In the first place the three CPSU congresses, which opened up remarkable new prospects for the development of socialist society, ensured a mighty upward surge of its economy and a systematic raising of the Soviet people's material and cultural well-being.

Then there was Soviet society's entrance into the phase of developed socialism, the beginning of the actual creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

Then there was the dynamic development of social relations, the growing cohesion of all classes and social groups, and the fraternal friendship and co-operation of all the nations, large and small, of the Soviet country.

These events and processes of immense significance are inseparably connected with the name of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with your name, Leonid Ilyich.

Big positive changes have taken place in the recent past in the life of the whole of mankind.

First of all there has been the continued development of world socialism, the growing might and cohesion of the socialist community, the intensification of its influence on the course of contemporary history. Major new victories have been won by the national liberation movement in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. The international position and prestige of the Soviet Union have been still further enhanced.

International relations have been marked by the turn from the cold war, from tension to *détente*, to peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. And although aggressive imperialist circles are actively opposing an intensification and materialisation of *détente*, although the arms race is still going on, we have nevertheless every ground for saying that a political victory of exceptional importance has been won. We have succeeded in decreasing the threat of thermonuclear war, peace has become more reliable, more lasting.

This has been accomplished through the close cohesion of the fraternal socialist countries, the communist and working-class movement, the national liberation and all progressive and peace-loving forces. It has been accomplished thanks to the efforts of our Motherland, our Party, its Central Committee, and it is most directly connected with the name of the outstanding peace fighter, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee—Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

The Soviet people see the work of the Party's leading bodies and yours personally, Leonid Ilyich, as the embodiment of the collective wisdom and will of the CPSU, a model of unshakeable dedication to the ideas and principles of Marxist-Leninist teaching, to the treasure-house of which you also make a considerable personal contribution. The working people of our country and world opinion saw the propositions and conclusions of the report of the Central Committee which you delivered at the Party's 25th Congress as a new and major achievement in developing

the theory and practice of scientific communism. The Congress decisions, your speeches at it and at the October (1976) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee gave rise to that great enthusiasm in socialist emulation to fulfil the tasks of the five-year plan of efficiency and quality. This is the most convincing proof that our Party's plans really are a matter of vital concern for the Soviet people, who are closely rallied around the CPSU and its Central Committee headed by you.

You, Leonid Ilyich, are always well aware of the strivings, the demands, and interests of the Soviet people. You have the ability to understand the demands of the times and to translate them into the language of concrete acts, displaying inexhaustible energy and persistence in organising work for perfecting all aspects of Soviet society's life. And that is the most basic, the most important quality of a leader of the Party founded by Lenin to struggle for a better life and for a bright future for the working people.

Today we can particularly note that Communist Brezhnev, in whom the Party has shown the greatest trust and who shoulders truly boundless responsibility, has always been and still is an ordinary, modest man. Selfless devotion to the people's interests, principledness and responsiveness in his attitude to people, ability to listen to opinions of his comrades, Party exactingness and intolerance towards self-complacency, constant attention to all that is new and progressive—these are the remarkable qualities which invariably distinguish you, Leonid Ilyich.

Dear Friend! An immense, endless stream of greetings, congratulations and letters bringing best wishes has been flowing in for you these days from all corners of the Land of Soviets and all parts of the world. The feelings of thankfulness and gratitude towards you expressed in them are the greatest and most cherished reward for a Leninist politician, a Communist leader.

The Motherland has highly appraised your contribution to the great cause of establishing the most just, the most humane, and the happiest society on earth—shining on your breast today is the third Golden Star, the Star of Hero of the Soviet Union.

The high awards conferred on you by many countries are acknowledgements of the importance and effectiveness of the political line pursued

by our Party, its Central Committee, and you personally, Leonid Ilyich—the line of further strengthening the fraternal friendship between the peoples of the socialist countries, the unity and cohesion of the communist and workers' parties, and of ensuring lasting peace and good-neighbourly co-operation between all the peoples of the planet.

It gives us great pleasure to extend cordial greetings to the leaders of the fraternal communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries who are with us on this memorable day, our dear comrades Todor Zhivkov, János Kádár, Erich Honecker, Raul Castro, Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, Edward Gierek, Nicolae Ceausescu, and Gustáv Husák. Present among us are also leading figures of other communist parties, our comrades Arismendi, Ibárruri, Prestes, Jespersen, Chandra, and Zorrilla. From the bottom of our hearts we express profound gratitude to the fraternal parties and peoples, to you personally for your high appraisal of the work of our Party and people, and for the awards which you have conferred on Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

You, Leonid Ilyich, more than anyone else, are worthy of these awards. By the example of your work, your life, all the peoples can see what kind of people are formed by Soviet society, what kind of leaders are reared and elected by the Communist Party. They are staunch fighters for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, leaders of genuine Leninist training and scope.

Permit me then, our dear friend and comrade, to congratulate you once more, warmly and fraternally. All of us—and I am sure that millions and millions of people both in the Soviet Union and abroad will join us—wish you from the bottom of our hearts a long life, good health, and further success in your exceptionally important, complicated, and responsible work for the good of our Leninist Party and the great Soviet people, for the good of all working humanity, for the sake of peace and communism.

THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE MODERN EPOCH

Opening address at the conference dedicated to the 60th
anniversary of the October Revolution, 10 November 1977

COMRADES,

Our conference is going into session in a remarkable time. All of us are under the indelible impression of the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet people, the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, and all progressive mankind marked this glorious jubilee in a festive mood and with great enthusiasm.

There has been no event in history equal in significance to the October Revolution. It was prepared by the entire course of development of world capitalism in its monopoly stage, was the logical outcome of the class struggle of the proletariat, and embodied the radiant ideals of the working people. The October Revolution changed radically the destiny of our country, ushered in a new era in world history—the era of the downfall of capitalism and the beginning of revolutionary transition to socialism and communism. The victory of socialist revolution completes, as Marx put it, the prehistory of human society.

And we have every reason to say that the victory of the October Revolution was the beginning of mankind's true history.

The October Revolution released the powerful pent-up forces of social progress, which have changed the face of the world beyond recognition within a brief historical period. The October Revolution became the banner of the peoples building socialism and communism, an inspiring

OTHER SPEECHES

example to the working people of all countries struggling against the yoke of capital.

The experience of the victorious socialist revolutions in Europe, Asia, and Latin America—for all the distinctive features of each of them—confirms the truth of Lenin's idea of the inevitable repetition of the main features of the October Revolution on an international scale.

The main result of the October Revolution, of the entire world revolutionary process, is the socialist society existing in the USSR and a number of other countries. It has been built by the working people and for the working people, and is the prototype of the future of all mankind.

The Soviet people led by the Communist Party have translated into reality the plans of the genius of revolution, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, and built a developed socialist society—the highest achievement of social progress today. The adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR, which has legally finalised the achievements of mature socialism in our country and has conclusively demonstrated its fundamental superiority to capitalism, was an event of outstanding historic importance.

The people of other fraternal countries are building a developed socialist society, demonstrating to the whole world the boundless creative powers of labour freed from exploitation. Continuing the cause of the October Revolution, the community of the socialist countries has become a potent factor of social progress, an indestructible bulwark of all forces of peace, democracy, and socialism.

The October Revolution convincingly revealed in all its aspects the world historic mission of the working class capable of forming a militant party and leading the working people under its guidance to the destruction of the exploitive system and the construction of a new society free from exploitation. The October Revolution inspired the revolutionaries of all countries and gave a powerful impulse to the international working-class and communist movement.

The October Revolution opened before the oppressed peoples of the colonies real prospects of the national liberation struggle. The rout of German Nazism and Japanese militarism, the formation and growth of the world socialist system contributed to a powerful upsurge of the movement for national independence, which led eventually to the collapse of

the colonial system of imperialism and the emergence of young states, many of which have chosen a path of socialist orientation.

Thus the entire world social development since October 1917 has proved indisputably the truth of Lenin's assessment of the international significance of our revolution. "Human history", Lenin wrote shortly after its victory, "these days is making a momentous and most difficult turn, a turn, one might say without the least exaggeration, of immense significance for the emancipation of the world."¹

Time has turned sixty pages on the calendar of history since the birth of the first state of the working people. Since then the ideas of the October Revolution, the results of their realisation in practice have invariably been in the focus of attention of all mankind. As a truly momentous event and a turning-point in world history, the October Revolution left nobody indifferent—neither friend nor foe. Among the millions upon millions of working people in all countries the ideas and cause of the October Revolution arouse great interest and revolutionary enthusiasm, profound sympathy for the peoples blazing the trail into the radiant future of mankind, and a striving for more complete assimilation of these ideas so as to break the chains of capitalist oppression. In the camp of the exploiters the ideas of the October Revolution call forth a feeling of class hatred, a striving to prevent their spread at all costs.

The six decades since the October Revolution are glorious chapters in the history of our Motherland, stages in its vigorous, dynamic growth. The sixth decade of Soviet power has important historical distinctions. During this decade the country's economic potential has doubled, the technological modernisation of industry has been launched on a vast scale, the material and technical basis of agriculture has risen to a qualitatively new level, and the productivity of the fields and farms has increased. A sweeping programme of advancing the material and cultural well-being of the people has been carried into effect.

The Soviet people met the glorious 60th anniversary of the Soviet state with new achievements in the drive to implement the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU. The Congress made a great contribution to the theory of communist construction, defined our Party's position on the

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 159.

cardinal modern problems, and worked out a concrete programme of actions of the Party and people to accomplish tasks of tremendous proportions and complexity in the country's continued socio-economic development.

The preparations for and celebration of the anniversary took place in an atmosphere of particularly great moral and political uplift which developed during the nationwide discussion and adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR. The entire Soviet people took part in the making of the fundamental law of their life. Its discussion and adoption clearly demonstrated the profound democratism of our system, the genuine involvement of all citizens in the management of the affairs of state, their vital interest in further perfecting our political system.

The Constitution of the USSR incorporated the wealth of experience of the Soviet people, the fundamental conclusions and principles advanced by the Party in recent years on the basis of a creative analysis and summation of the practices of communist construction, and became a new milestone in the development of Soviet society.

The efforts to accomplish the tasks outlined by the 25th Congress, the discussion and adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR, the preparations for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution and this event itself rallied the Soviet people still more closely behind the Leninist Party and furnished new conclusive evidence that the Party is honourably performing its role as the political leader of the Soviet people.

The growth of the Party's influence and of its leading role is the most important law in the progress of our society. The experience of existing socialism has proved conclusively that the objective necessity for consciously directing the socio-economic and political processes, which became manifest already in the early period of the struggle for socialism, becomes increasingly urgent in the period of transition from socialism to communism. This can be accomplished only by the Communist Party, the organising core and the backbone of the country's entire socio-political life.

The CPSU is the political vanguard of the working class and the entire Soviet people, and unites its finest representatives. It has accumulated a

wealth of experience in the political guidance of the working masses and developed an ability to arouse their tremendous creative energy and directing it to the solution of the most complicated and pressing problems of the country's development.

During the long years of struggle and work the Soviet people witnessed the Party's utter devotion to the interests of the working people, the correctness and wisdom of its policy. Our people fully approve of and support the Leninist policy of the CPSU, take pride in the victories won under the leadership of the Party and its Central Committee headed by the outstanding Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

In all its political and organising activities the CPSU is guided by the most progressive theory—Marxism-Leninism, knowledge of the laws of social development. The six decades of the triumphant march of socialism are incontrovertible evidence of the vitality of Marxist-Leninist theory and its correctness and superiority to the various kinds of "theories" of social-reformists and revisionists who can "build" socialism only on paper.

Marxism-Leninism is a scientific theory expressing the vital interests of the working people. Only socialism, which has translated the ideas of Marxism-Leninism into reality, has found a solution to the vital problems which plagued the working masses throughout the world for centuries. This is why hundreds of millions of working people in all parts of the world are attracted by the ideas of scientific socialism.

The CPSU works persistently to develop Marxist-Leninist theory and unswervingly translates it into life. Attention to the problems of theory ensues from the very nature of our Party as a party of creative Marxism-Leninism, from the nature of socialist society and the tasks it is coping with. Socialism can develop successfully only on the basis of science, theoretical comprehension of the past, a thorough analysis of the present and prevision of the future.

In recent years our Party has made a significant contribution to the theory of communist construction. From a scientific analysis of the socialist realities the Party has drawn fundamental conclusions about the construction of a developed socialist society in the USSR, defined its major features and the economic and political system of mature socialist

society—the conditions and ways of building communism. The theoretical conception of developed socialism was evolved by our Party jointly with the fraternal communist and workers' parties, and is a substantial creative contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

The CPSU has made a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the entire historical process of the evolution of the state of proletarian dictatorship into a socialist state of the whole people expressing the will and interests of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia—the working people of all large and small nations of the Soviet Union, and shown the directions of the development of public self-government, which will be fully established in a classless communist society.

Our Leninist Party has demonstrated that socialism, by securing political freedoms and rights for all citizens, provides the required real prerequisites for consistent all-round development of the individual and the application of his creative energy, abilities, and talents to promoting the well-being of the whole society.

The CPSU pays unflagging attention to the further development of theory—this life-giving source of powerful impulses to our progress.

The social practices of existing socialism are developing and putting forward new vital problems to which Marxist-Leninist theory must supply the answers. Some of them are solved without delay because they determine the rates of our progress and success in implementing our state plans. Such is the problem of combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism, the translation of this theoretical principle into practical decisions and applications, the search for the best methods to improve the efficiency of social production and the quality of work, and to perfect economic management and planning.

Among the major theoretical problems are those connected with progress towards homogeneity of the social structure of our society, its increasing unity, and ever greater cohesion of all the country's large and small nations. The working class plays as before and will play the leading role in this process. The problems of developing social consciousness, of moulding a new man, are no less urgent for us today. As Leonid Brezhnev said:

"One of our primary tasks is to foster in our citizens a desire to attain great social goals, ideological conviction, and a truly creative attitude to work. This is a very important area of struggle for communism; and the course of economic construction and the country's socio-political development will be increasingly dependent on our success in this area."¹

In its theoretical and practical activities the Party organically links the solution of current problems with long-term goals. For example, in the course of the development of co-operation between enterprises and concentration of production, which are a component of the process of further socialising production under socialism, there develop tendencies towards the future merger of the present two basic forms of socialist property into a single communist form. The abundant supply of agriculture with modern machinery, the comprehensive development of large agrarian-industrial zones in the country provide the prerequisites for erasing the essential distinctions between town and country.

The consolidation of the alliance of the working class, the collective farm peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia is the basis for the future social homogeneity of communist society. The broad system of public education, political enlightenment, and communist upbringing already ensures rapid general advancement of the cultural and intellectual level of the whole people—all classes and social groups.

One could name many other fundamental problems of the present and future which are and will continue to be the subject of persistent study by the Party's theoreticians.

The solution of theoretical problems posed by the present stage of mature socialism is of great international significance. The theoretical research conducted by the CPSU and other fraternal parties brings to light the universal laws of building a communist society and the ways of solving the problems which will inevitably face the working people of other countries building a new society.

By virtue of its content, motive forces, and development prospects,

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, *The Great October Revolution and Mankind's Progress*, Moscow, 1977, p. 16.

the present epoch ushered in by the October Revolution is the most revolutionary period in mankind's history, characterised by a tense struggle between capitalism and socialism throughout its sixty years.

The current confrontation between the two social systems is distinctive in that the radical change in the alignment of forces on the world scene has allowed the historical initiative to be taken by existing socialism, whose advantages are revealed ever more widely and conclusively. Relying on their all-round, steadily growing co-operation, the fraternal parties of the socialist community successfully guide the process of immense social transformations, the advance towards a developed socialist society, and communism. The scientific basis for this guidance is Marxist-Leninist theory creatively applied and developed by the fraternal parties with a view to the specific conditions of their respective countries. Joint theoretical research into the problems of the modern stage in the development of existing socialism and of the world revolutionary process, a regular exchange of views and experience between the fraternal parties, and a collective analysis of the new phenomena and developments taking place in the world, are assuming ever greater significance.

The common international positions of the countries of the socialist community are consolidated year after year, while their influence on world developments grows stronger and more profound. Important positive changes have been achieved in international relations, and a change-over from the cold war to *détente* has taken place, due primarily to the concerted efforts of those countries.

Détente is a major prerequisite as well as a component of social progress. The vital interests of the people and the very existence of modern civilisation are bound up with *détente*, the establishment of a lasting peace. This is precisely the reason why the safeguarding of peace is the keynote of the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th Congress and further developed by the 25th Congress of the CPSU. For the first time in history the struggle for peace has been elevated to the rank of a statutory principle laid down in the new Constitution of the Soviet Union.

The consistent peace policy pursued by the countries of the socialist community does not mean "a class peace" with capitalism but follows from the humane nature of socialism itself.

Socialism brings peace to nations. Peace provides favourable conditions for the further development and consolidation of socialism. At the same time, peace meets the innermost aspirations of the peoples of all countries. It makes it possible for them to live and work in conditions of security and mutually beneficial co-operation based on equality. It is logical, therefore, that in the struggle between the two opposite systems the odds are in favour of socialism—a system which consistently and resolutely struggles for peace, to banish war from the life of human society for all time.

Peace and *détente* paralyse the efforts of the most frantic forces of international reaction, facilitate the growth of the democratic liberation movements, create favourable conditions for the steady social progress of all mankind.

The course of modern development conclusively demonstrates that world socialism is on the upswing and is developing dynamically. The working people in all countries look upon existing socialism with growing sympathy as the embodiment of their profound aspirations and hopes. They justly regard it as a society of genuine freedom and democracy, real humanism, and social optimism. World socialism determines the main direction of mankind's progress.

At the same time, capitalism, torn by irreconcilable contradictions, is surrendering its positions one after another under the powerful pressure of the forces of progress despite all the efforts of the bourgeoisie to bolster up its foundations. The entire edifice of modern capitalism has been undermined by a deep-going economic, ideological, and political crisis. The world economic crisis of the mid-seventies has been the most severe crisis in the post-war period.

Capitalism has proved unable to solve any of the cardinal social problems agitating mankind. It comes out more and more openly as an enemy of freedom, democracy, and social progress. This results in a growth of discontent among the working masses, a shift to the left in political life, ever more intensive accumulation of revolutionary potential within the working-class movement, the formation and widening of an objective basis for broad anti-monopoly alliances, and an intensified process of internationalisation of the class struggle. The position of capitalism is

aggravated by the growing contradictions between the industrialised capitalist countries, on the one hand, and the developing countries, on the other. All developments in the last few years convincingly show that capitalism has no future and is steadily moving towards its doom.

Capitalism, however, is still in possession of fairly large resources, and the monopoly bourgeoisie has not abandoned hope of a *revanche*. International imperialism is doing all in its power to check the further consolidation of the positions of the forces of peace, democracy, and socialism, and to "limit" *détente*. The reactionary circles associated with the military-industrial complex are the most active opponents of *détente*. They regard *détente* and consolidation of peace as a threat to their super-profits and political influence in society.

International reactionaries of various hues seek to step up the struggle against socialism and resort to ever more sophisticated ways and means to this effect. They have launched a political and propaganda campaign under the false slogans of "defence of human rights", "freedom", and "democracy".

It is perfectly obvious that all this vociferous "human rights" campaign of slander is in fact an attempt on the part of the advocates of capitalism to disguise its anti-democratic character and to distract the attention of the working people in their countries and of world opinion from the deep-seated crisis of bourgeois society.

The CPSU and other fraternal parties repulse the propaganda attacks of imperialist reaction, consistently exposing the anti-popular, parasitic essence of capitalism, and convincingly demonstrating the advantages of the socialist system.

Today it is becoming obvious not only to us Marxist-Leninists but also to ever greater numbers of ordinary people in the non-socialist world that despite all the efforts of bourgeois leaders and the ability of the monopolies to adapt themselves to a new situation, capitalism will not regain the historical initiative.

The world revolutionary process is irresistibly gaining momentum. The international communist movement, which traces its source to the October Revolution, is in the vanguard of revolutionary struggle. Formed and consolidated under the influence of the ideas of the Great October

Revolution, the world communist movement has grown into the most massive and influential political force of today—the crucial factor of world development.

The tasks of promoting the internationalist solidarity of Communists assume especially great significance today. Proletarian internationalism is one of the basic prerequisites for further successes of the international working-class and communist movement. Under present conditions the social basis of the anti-imperialist forces has widened, the role of internationalism and the sphere of operation of its principles have grown. This circumstance imposes on the Communists a special responsibility for strengthening the unity of their ranks, developing internationalist solidarity, and consolidating all the forces of the world revolutionary process.

The growing influence of the fraternal parties on the working masses in a number of capitalist countries is a characteristic feature of the modern communist movement. In the new conditions provided by the favourable internal and international situation, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class is faced with great and complicated political tasks. There is the task of combining correctly the immediate goals of the working people's struggle with the struggle for a socialist perspective. There is the further consolidation of the unity of the communist ranks on the principled Marxist-Leninist platform, achievement of unity of the left forces, formation of a massive anti-monopoly coalition. There is a combination of the struggle of the communist parties to defend the working people's interests in their respective countries with the fulfilment of their internationalist duty, relations of mutual support between the Communists of different countries in a situation where no common international centre exists and the parties operate on their own, independently, permitting no interference in each other's internal affairs.

All these problems require a profound theoretical study based on creative application and development of Marxist-Leninist science, the experience of socialist revolutions.

The ideas of the October Revolution, of the struggle for peace, freedom, and socialism, are winning over the minds of ever new hundreds of millions of people to become an irresistible material force. Loyalty

to the ideas of the October Revolution, to Marxism-Leninism, to its powerful and optimistic creative spirit, is the guarantee of success in the revolutionary struggle, of further acceleration of the revolutionary process, of victory over capitalism—the last of the exploiting system.

Comrades! Creative discussions by social scientists of the pressing problems of revolutionary theory play an important part in the collective efforts of the fraternal parties to develop Marxism-Leninism.

Allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, to convey my heartfelt greetings to the international conference dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution and wish you success in your work.

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